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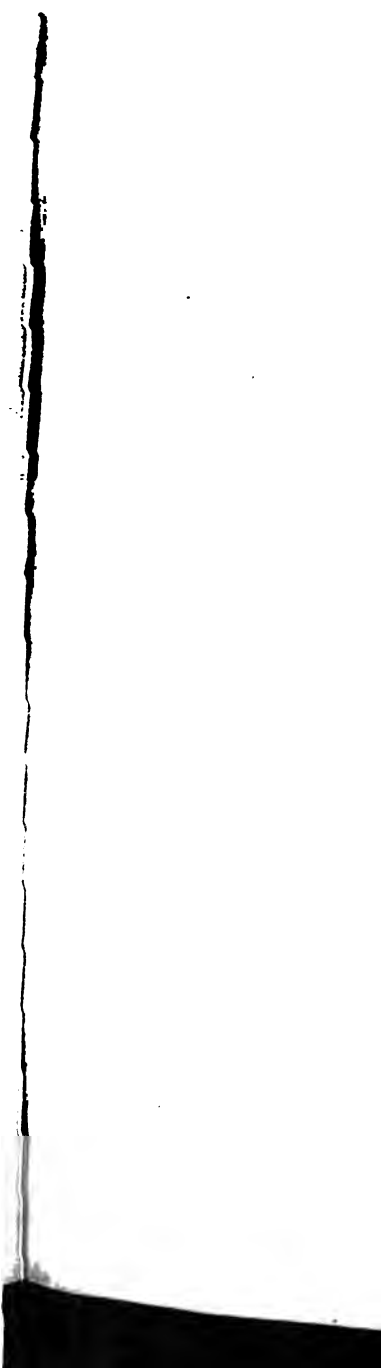
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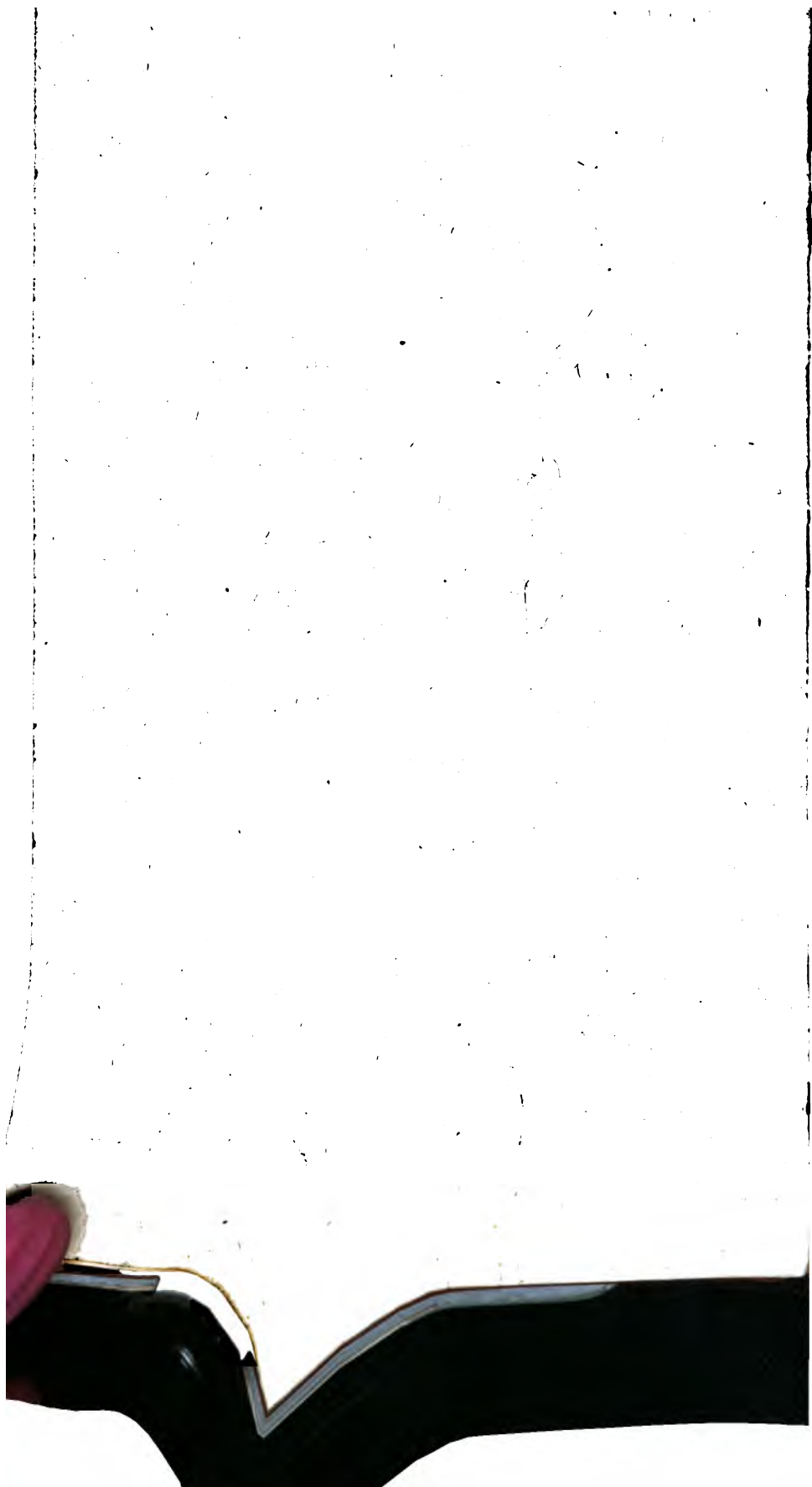
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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE
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C O N T E N T S
OF THE
F I F T H V O L U M E.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

*The civil and military history of Great Britain,
from the landing of William duke of Normandy,
A.D. 1066, to the death of king John, A.D.
1216.*

SECTION I.

From A.D. 1066, to A.D. 1100.

WILLIAM duke of Normandy having spent about eight months in the most vigorous preparations for invading England, and dethroning king Harold, sailed from the harbour of St. Vallori, at the mouth of the river Somme, with a great fleet and gallant army, on September 28, A.D. 1066, and the day after arrived at Pevensey in Suffex. At that place

A. D. 1066.

William
duke of
Norman-
dy lands
in Eng-
land.

A.D. 1066.

place he landed his troops, horses, arms, and baggage of all kinds, without any opposition; and immediately erected a fort, into which he put a garrison for the protection of his fleet¹. From Pevensey he marched to Hastings; where he remained about fifteen days, fortifying his camp, collecting provisions, refreshing his men and horses, and putting every thing in order for the prosecution of his design².

Harold
marches
from the
north to
Hasting.

Harold was at York with his army, celebrating the victory which he had obtained over his brother Tosti and the king of Norway, when he received the news of this formidable invasion. Roused, but not intimidated, by this intelligence, he put an end to his rejoicings, and began his march towards London³. When he arrived in that capital, he found his forces much diminished, by the loss which he had sustained in the battle of Stamford bridge, and by a great desertion which had taken place among his troops, through discontent at being deprived of their share of the booty gained in that battle. In these circumstances, he was advised by his wisest counsellors, and particularly by his brother Gurth, to remain at London till he had refreshed and recruited his army, or at least not to venture his own person with unequal forces⁴. But being flushed with his late victory, he rejected these wise and friendly

¹ W. Piccavin. p. 198, 199. Oderic. Vital. p. 500. ² Id. ibid.

³ Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 211. Hoveden. Annal. p. 257.

⁴ Oderic. Vital. p. 500.

admoni-

admonitions with disdain, and hurried towards A.D. 1066.
 Hastings; where he arrived October 13, and
 pitched his camp near to that of the Normans⁵.

The two armies did not continue long in that Battle of
Hastings.
 position before they came to action. For early on
 the morning of the 14th of October, A. D. 1066,
 William duke of Normandy, and Harold king
 of England, led their forces into the field, and
 drew them up in order of battle, to determine
 their important quarrel by the sword. The
 English, who were all on foot, armed with swords,
 spears, and battle-axes, were formed into one
 deep and compact body; in the centre of which,
 on a rising ground, the king, with his two bro-
 thers Gurth and Leofwin, placed themselves,
 near to the royal standard. The Norman in-
 fantry were drawn up in two lines, the first com-
 posed of archers and slingers, and the second of
 the heavy-armed troops; the cavalry com-
 manded by the duke in person, being stationed
 in the rear, and on the two wings⁶. No sooner
 was the signal of battle given by the sound of all
 the instruments of martial music, than the Nor-
 mans advanced, singing the famous song of Rol-
 land, and began the action by discharging a pro-
 digious flight of arrows upon the English⁷. By
 degrees the two armies approached nearer and

⁵ W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57. Oderic. Vital. p. 500.

⁶ W. Pictavin. p. 201. Math. Paris, p. 3.

⁷ W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 57. Gesta Willielmi Ducis, p. 262. Hen.
 Hunt. p. 212.

A. D. 1066.

nearer, and the battle raged with uncommon fury on both sides, from morning till towards evening. The duke of Normandy, who had fought bravely, and had three horses killed under him, observing that his troops began to relax in their efforts, and to despair of breaking the ranks of their enemies, had recourse to a stratagem, which was crowned with success. He gave orders to his forces to retire a little, as if they had been on the point of flying; which the English mistaking for a real flight, broke their ranks, in order to pursue them, and complete their ruin. The Normans, at a certain signal, faced about, and made a furious assault on their pursuers, who were now scattered in many small parties. From this time the battle was changed into many skirmishes in different parts, with various success, till about sunset; when king Harold was killed by an arrow, which entering his eye, penetrated his brain; his two brothers were also slain, and the royal standard taken: upon which the English fled on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter, till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit^s. In this battle, the most important in its consequences of any that ever was fought in this island, no fewer than fifteen thousand Normans fell on one side: and on the other much greater numbers were slain; amongst

^s Hen. Hunt. p. 211. W. Pictavin. p. 203. R. Hoveden, p. 257. Math. Paris, p. 3. Orderic. Vital. p. 501.

whom were the king, his two brothers, and the flower of the English nobility⁹.

A.D. 1066.

As the duke of Normandy had displayed much conduct and valour in the battle of Hastings, he discovered great prudence and humanity after the victory,—by returning solemn thanks to God on the field for the success of his arms,—by permitting the English to bury their dead in perfect tranquillity,—by dismissing with ignominy one of his soldiers for mangling the body of Harold, and —by sending the corpse of that prince to his mother Githa, without accepting the offered ransom¹⁰.

Conduct of William after the victory.

It is easier to imagine than describe the consternation of the English after the battle of Hastings. Many of the fugitives, and amongst others the two powerful earls Edwin and Morcar, with their remaining followers, made haste to London, which became a scene of inexpressible terror and confusion. Here frequent councils were held by Aldred archbishop of York, the two earls above mentioned, and the other nobility; who at length resolved to raise Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir of the Saxon royal family, to the throne; to collect an army, and make a stand in defence of their country, against the victorious invaders¹¹. But it required more time than they were allowed to bring these designs to maturity, and carry them into execution.

Remains of the English army retire to London.

⁹ W. Gemiticin, c. 35.

¹⁰ W. Malmf. l. 3. p. 58. Hen. Knyhton, col. 2342.

¹¹ W. Pictavin. p. 205. Diceto, col. 480. J. Brompt. Chron. col. 961. Hen. Knyht. col. 2343. R. Hoveden, fol. 257. col. 2.

A. D. 1066.

William
marches
to Lon-
don,

The duke of Normandy having buried his dead, and refreshed his army by a few days rest, began his march towards London; and in his way chastised the inhabitants of Romney, who had killed some of his men, got possession of the town and castle of Dover by surrender, and received the submissions of the Kentish men¹². His progress was a little retarded by these operations, and by a dysentery among his troops, which obliged him to remain about a week at Dover, employing such of his forces as were in perfect health in repairing and strengthening the fortifications of that place. At length he resumed his march, and approached the capital; which at first shut its gates, and made some shew of resistance. But a large body of citizens, who made a sally, having been repulsed with slaughter by a party of Norman cavalry, the whole city was thrown into confusion; those who had lost their friends breaking out into the most clamorous lamentations¹³. This confusion of the people shut up in London, was soon after much increased by their beholding the flames of Southwark, which was set on fire and reduced to ashes by the Normans¹⁴. In a word, the consternation was so great and universal, that Edwin and Morcar, the earls of Mercia and Northumberland, perceiving that no effectual resistance could be made,

¹² W. Pictavin. p. 205.¹³ Orderic. Vital. p. 503.¹⁴ Id. *ibid*,

retired

retired with precipitation, and marched off with their numerous followers into the north. A.D. 1066.

Soon after this, the victorious invader having passed the Thames at Wallingford with his army, approached the city on that side which was not defended by the river. This greatly increased the terror of the citizens, and hastened their resolution to surrender. Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, Aldred archbishop of York, and two other bishops, five of the principal citizens of London, several noblemen, and even Edgar Atheling himself, went out to meet the conqueror, and made their submissions to him at Berkhamstead¹⁵. The example of so many illustrious persons was soon followed by almost all the surviving nobility of England, who joined with them in making William an offer of the vacant throne; which, after some affected excuses, at the earnest entreaty of his Norman counsellors, he accepted¹⁶.

London
surrenders
to Wil-
liam.

William did not immediately enter London, though its gates were thrown open, and all the hostages delivered which he had demanded; but sent a part of his army to take possession of it, to erect a fortification in it, and to make the necessary preparations for his coronation, which he appointed to be in Westminster abbey, on Christmas day following. In the mean time, to shew how much his mind was at ease, and his affairs in a settled state, he amused himself with

William
makes
prepara-
tions for
his coro-
nation.

¹⁵ R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 258.

¹⁶ W. Fitzlavin. p. 205.

A. D. 1066. the diversions of hunting and hawking in the neighbourhood¹⁷.

William is crowned.

Early on the morning of Christmas day, A. D. 1066, duke William, attended by the chief nobility of England and Normandy, repaired to Westminster abbey, where he was crowned king of England with all the usual ceremonies, by Aldred archbishop of York, assisted by Goisfred bishop of Constance. The former of these prelates, who was famous for his eloquence, made an oration to the English in their own language, and concluded with asking them, if they chose William for their king, and consented to his coronation; to which they signified their assent by the loudest acclamations. The bishop of Constance asked the same question of the Normans in their language, and received the same answer in the same manner. The archbishop then administered the oath to William that had been administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, seated him in the throne, and placed the crown on his head, amidst the loud repeated acclamations of the whole assembly¹⁸.

Tamult at the coronation.

These acclamations were productive of very fatal consequences. For the Norman guards stationed without the abbey, hearing such vehement reiterated shouts in a language which they did not understand, began to apprehend that the English

¹⁷ W. Pictavin. p. 205.

¹⁸ W. Pictavin. p. 206. Orderic. Vital. p. 501, 503. T. Stubbs, col. 1702. R. Hoveden, fol. 258. W. Newbregin, l. 1. c. 1. p. 2.

were

were offering violence to their prince, and in a sudden transport of rage set fire to the neighbouring houses, which, being of wood, burnt with great violence. This occasioned a prodigious alarm and uproar within the abbey; men and women rushing out with impetuosity to save their lives, which they imagined to be in danger. In a word, the tumult both within and without the abbey was so great, that it struck terror into the new monarch, and was not appeased without much difficulty. This incident, however casual, increased the jealousy and animosity of the two nations, and was considered, in that superstitious age, as an omen of a turbulent unhappy reign¹⁹.

A. D. 1066.

William, after his coronation, applied with great activity to regulate the affairs of his kingdom, endeavouring to gain the affections of the English, as well as to gratify the expectations of the Normans. Being still a little suspicious of the people of London, he left that city, as the fortifications which he had directed to be raised for his security were not yet finished, and retired to Berking in Essex. At this place the two great earls Edwin and Morcar, earl Coxo, Ederic, surnamed *the Forester*, and several other English noblemen, waited upon him, made their submissions, and were most graciously received, and confirmed in the possession of all their honours and estates. From Berking he made a progress

A. D. 1067.

First acts
of king
William's
government.¹⁹ Orderic. Vital. p. 503.

into

A. D. 1067.

into several parts of the kingdom, receiving the homage of his new subjects, and behaving to all who submitted to his authority with the most engaging affability. In this progress he was at great pains to restrain his Norman attendants from doing any injuries, or offering any insults to his English subjects²⁰. By these popular and prudent measures the public tranquillity was every where restored, and nothing appeared but the most perfect submission to the new government. That he might have it in his power to gratify the expectations of his Norman followers, he seized all the lands and treasures of Harold and his brothers, which were very great, and confiscated the estates of all the English nobles who had fallen fighting against him in the battle of Hastings. He received also very considerable sums of money from his wealthy English subjects, as presents, on his accession, given with a view to secure his favour. By these means he was enabled to bestow honours and estates upon his chief followers, and money upon others. Besides this, to diffuse the fame of his riches, piety, and munificence, he sent very valuable presents to the Pope, who had favoured his enterprise, and to many churches on the continent, wherein prayers had been put up for his success. Still further to secure the obedience of the English, of whose attachment he yet entertained some doubts, he commanded strong

²⁰ W. Pictavin. p. 208.

castles to be built near the chief cities, and in other convenient places, to be garrisoned by his trusty Normans, on whose fidelity he could depend²¹. A.D. 1067.

By these and the like precautions, in less than three months after his coronation, William beheld such an appearance of order, tranquillity, and obedience to his authority, in all parts of England, that he imagined he might now with safety visit his native country and his family; to dazzle their eyes with his magnificence, and receive their congratulations on the success of his expedition. Having therefore appointed his uterine brother Odo bishop of Bayeux, and his great favourite William Fitz-Osbern, regents of England, towards the end of March A.D. 1067, he embarked at Pevensey in Suffex (where he had landed about six months before), and soon after arrived in Normandy, with a gallant fleet, and a splendid train of the nobility of England, as well as of his ancient subjects. For besides the precautions already mentioned, which he had taken for preserving the peace of his new dominions in his absence, he very prudently carried with him to the continent, Edgar Atheling, Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, the earls Edwin and Morcar, and all the other English noblemen, whose fidelity he suspected, or who were formidable for their wealth and power, under a pretence of doing them honour, but in

King William returns to Normandy.

²¹ W. Pictavin. p. 298.

reality

A.D. 1067. reality to keep them as hostages for the peaceable behaviour of their dependents²². As an impatient vanity, unworthy of his character, seems to have prompted William to this too hasty voyage, which proved the source of much disquiet to himself, and of many calamities to his subjects; so he made an ostentatious display of the riches and grandeur he had acquired in England, to excite the admiration of his own people, and of the nobles and princes who came from all the neighbouring countries to visit his court, and pay their compliments of congratulation. The quantity and exquisite workmanship of his gold and silver plate, the splendid dress of his guards, and the magnificence of his English nobles, exceeded every thing that had been seen in those parts, and filled all spectators with admiration²³.

Insurrections of the English.

While William was thus spending his time in a kind of triumphant progress through the towns and cities of Normandy, business of a different kind was preparing for him in England. Many of the Norman captains, unawed by the presence of their sovereign, abused their power, and loaded the unhappy English with injuries and indignities; which that people, still mindful of their former free and happy state, bore with much impatience. This soon produced murmurs and complaints; which being disregarded by the regents, broke out into open revolts in several

²² W. Pictavin. p. 209.

²³ Id. p. 211.

places.

places. The Kentish-men, in conjunction with Eustace earl of Bologne, who was then at variance with William, made an unsuccessful attempt on the town and castle of Dover²⁴. Edric the Forester, with the assistance of two Welsh princes, defended himself against the insults of the Norman captains settled in Herefordshire, repelling force by force²⁵. Coxo, a powerful English earl, was put to death by his own people, because he obstinately persisted in his submission to the new government, and refused to head them in an insurrection²⁶. In a word, the English in all parts of the kingdom were ripe for a revolt; and there wanted not some secret consultations about a general massacre of the Normans²⁷.

A.D. 1067.

William, having received information of the discontents which prevailed in England, became sensible of the necessity of his immediate presence in that kingdom; and, appointing his queen Matilda, and his eldest son Robert, regents of Normandy, he sailed from Dieppe on the 6th of December, and on the 7th landed at Winchelsea, from whence he proceeded to London, where he kept his Christmas²⁸. Here he was attended by many of the English prelates and nobles; who met with a more favourable reception than they expected, and even obtained

King William returns to England.

²⁴ Orderic. Vital. p. 508.²⁵ Hoveden. Annal. p. 258.²⁶ Orderic. Vital. p. 509.²⁷ Gemitiain, c. 29.²⁸ Orderic. Vital. p. 509.

A.D. 1067. redress of some of those injuries which had been done to them by the Normans. This produced an appearance of tranquillity, which was neither very solid nor very lasting ²⁹.

A.D. 1068. The unseasonable expensive voyage to Normandy had not only given occasion to the insurrections already mentioned, but it had also exhausted the royal treasury so much, that William, soon after his return to England, found himself under a necessity of reviving the odious tax of Danegelt. This revived the discontents of the English, and occasioned fresh troubles. The people of Exeter, at the instigation of Githa, the mother of king Harold, who resided in that city, broke out into open rebellion, repaired their walls, increased their garrison, laid in provisions, and made every possible preparation for a vigorous resistance, soliciting all the neighbouring country to join in their revolt. The king immediately marched into those parts at the head of his army, and after a siege of eighteen days, obliged them to implore his clemency and submit to his authority, Githa having in the mean time made her escape into Flanders with all her treasures ³⁰. After the reduction of Exeter, William marched into Cornwall; and having suppressed certain commotions which had been raised in that country, returned to Winchester, where he celebrated the feast of Easter. His

²⁹ Orderic. Vital. p. 509.

³⁰ Id. p. 510. Chron. Saxon. p. 1068.

royal consort Matilda arrived in England about this time, and was crowned at Westminster on Whitsunday by Aldred archbishop of York; and before the end of the year she was delivered of her fourth son, who was named *Henry*³¹.

A.D. 1068.

At this time William seemed to be completely happy, both in his family and government. But this happiness was of short duration; and he soon found himself involved in new toils and dangers. The two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, were by far the most powerful of all the English nobility who survived the battle of Hastings, having about a third part of England under their own authority and that of their friends. Besides this, they were amiable in their persons and manners, beloved by their dependents, the favourites of the clergy, and the idols of the common people³². The late king Harold had been their brother-in-law, and the reigning prince of Wales was their nephew. The artful Norman was not ignorant of any of these circumstances, and well knew what dangerous enemies they might have been to a new-established government, and had therefore courted them with great attention; and, in particular, had promised Edwin his daughter in marriage. But when that young nobleman claimed the accomplishment of this promise, he met with a denial: at which he was so much enraged, that

Revolt of
earls Ed-
win and
Morcar.

³¹ J. Brompt. col. 963.

³² Orderic. Vital. p. 511. J. Brompt. col. 969.

he.

A.D. 1068. he retired with his brother into the north, where they encouraged the disaffection of their followers, entered into negotiations with the kings of Scotland and Denmark, and the princes of Wales, formed a plan for attacking the king and his Normans, by strong armies in several places at the same time.

William
suppresses
that revolt.

William, sensible that his safety depended upon his celerity, flew into the north with an army, and disconcerted the designs of his enemies before they could bring them to maturity. The two brothers, with Archil a potent nobleman in those parts, finding their schemes blasted, threw themselves on the king's mercy, and obtained a seeming but not a sincere forgiveness. The people of York, who had engaged keenly in this conspiracy, finding it discovered, endeavoured to make their peace, by giving hostages, and sending the keys of their city to William; who, distrusting their fidelity, built a castle in their city, in which he placed a Norman garrison. For the further security of his government he built castles at Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntington, and Cambridge. Malcolm, king of Scotland, seeing the confederacy dissolved, made his peace with William; who having thus dissipated this threatening storm by his activity, returned triumphant into the south ³³.

English
nobility
abandon
their
country.

By this time a great part of the property of England was, by numerous confiscations, trans-

³³ Simeon Dunelm. col. 203. R. Diceto, col. 482. Orderic. Vital. p. 511.

ferred

ferred to the Normans, who also ingrossed the favour of the sovereign, and all places of power and profit. The far greatest part of the ancient English noble families were extinguished or reduced to poverty; and those who remained, saw themselves despised, distrusted, and in daily danger of ruin from the suspicions of the Conqueror, and the rapacity of his Norman favourites. Many of them therefore retired into foreign countries to avoid the dangers with which they were surrounded, and to reserve themselves for better times. In particular, Edgar Atheling, his two sisters Margaret and Christina, with earl Cospatric, and several other noblemen, retired into Scotland; where they met with a most gracious reception from king Malcolm; who married the princess Margaret, and bestowed lands on her noble attendants; from whom several great families in that kingdom derive their descent³⁴.

A. D. 1068.

Though the retreat of so many noble persons weakened the English interest, and enriched the Normans with their spoils, it did not secure the tranquillity of the kingdom, which, A. D. 1069, was a scene of great confusion. Two sons of the late king Harold, who had left England after the unfortunate battle of Hastings, and taken shelter in the court of Dermot king of Ireland, having, with the assistance of that prince, and other

A. D. 1069:
Two sons
of king
Harold in-
vade Eng-
land, and
are de-
feated.

³⁴ M. Paris, p. 4. Annal. Waverlien. An. 1068. Chron. Saxon. p. 174. R. Hoveden. Annal. 259. col. 2.

A. D. 1069.

friends, collected a small army, and a fleet of sixty-six ships, resolved to make an attempt to retrieve the ruined fortunes of their family. About the beginning of this year they landed with their troops on the coast of Devonshire; but were suddenly attacked by a party of Normans under the command of Briauz, a son of the earl of Brittany, who defeated them twice in one day, killed seventeen hundred of their men, and obliged the two unhappy adventurers to flee to their ships, and return into Ireland³⁵.

The English, assisted by the Scots and Danes, revolt.

There were risings of the English about the same time in the counties of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Salop, and the isle of Ely³⁶. But the most formidable commotions were in the north, where every thing seemed to conspire to the extirpation of the Normans. Robert Cummin governor of Durham was killed in an insurrection, with about seven hundred of his followers, on the 29th of January³⁷. A few days after, the people of York surprised and killed Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, with many of his men, and besieged the castle, which had been built to keep them in subjection. During the continuance of this siege, a Danish fleet of three hundred ships, commanded by Osberne, brother to Sweyn king of Denmark, arrived in the Humber, and landed an army, which, after

³⁵ Orderic. Vital. p. 513. W. Gemeticen, c. 41.

³⁶ Orderic. Vital. p. 514.

³⁷ R. Hoveden, p. 259. Simeon Duacelm. col. 34. 128. J. Brompt. col. 963.

plunder-

plundering the country, joined the English at the siege of York castle, who were also joined about the same time by Edgar Atheling, Coptic. Waltheof, Merleswain, and other exiles from Scotland, with a party of Northumbrians. Many of the Normans in those parts had taken shelter in the castle of York, which they defended with great bravery, in hopes of being relieved by William, to whom they had sent an account of their danger. On the 19th of September they made a sally, and set fire to the houses nearest the castle; and the flames spreading, burnt the cathedral and the greatest part of the city. The besiegers, enraged at this beyond measure, amidst the confusion occasioned by the fire, took the castle by assault, and put the whole garrison, consisting of three thousand men, to the sword, except the governor, William Malet, with his wife and two children, whose lives they spared. After this exploit the Danes returned to their ships loaded with booty, and the Northumbrians retired to their own homes²⁸.

A.D. 1069.

When William, who had been employed in suppressing the insurrections in the south, received intelligence of these transactions in the north, he was inflamed with the most violent rage, and swore that he would lay that whole country desolate, and extirpate its inhabitants. To execute this threatened vengeance, he marched his army northward; and that he might not have two

William
recovers
York.²⁸ Simeon Dunelm. col. 198. J. Brompt. col. 966.

A.D. 1069. enemies to contend with at the same time, he entered into a private negotiation with Osberne, the commander of the Danish army, and prevailed upon him by a sum of money, and permission to plunder the sea-coasts, to return with his fleet and army into Denmark in the spring. The king then invested York with his army, and having taken it, and received Waltheof its governor into favour, he spent his Christmas in that city with the usual solemnities³⁹.

A.D. 1070.
Desolates
the north
of Eng-
land,

In the beginning of the year 1070, William marched northward with his army, destroying and burning the whole country as he advanced, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword without mercy. In this cruel and destructive manner he proceeded as far as Hexham, marking his way with blood and desolation. Many of the wretched inhabitants, who escaped the sword by flying to the woods and mountains, perished by famine; in so much that no fewer, than one hundred thousand men, women, and children, are said to have been cut off by these two cruel enemies of mankind (sword and famine), in the space of a few months. In a word, William executed his threatened vengeance with such unrelenting severity, that the whole country between York and Durham was converted into a dreary desert, without houses and without inhabitants, and remained in that condition about nine years⁴⁰. Edgar Athe-

³⁹ Orderic. Vital. p. 515. Chron. Saxon. p. 174. R. Hoveden, fol. 258. col. 2.

⁴⁰ R. Hoveden, p. 258. col. 2.

ling and his attendants seeing all lost, and dreading to fall into the hands of the enraged Conqueror, escaped into Scotland by sea; only Cofpatric threw himself on the king's mercy, obtained his pardon, and for a sum of money was constituted earl of Northumberland⁴¹. From this period, William seems to have been quite alienated from his English subjects, and to have resolved to depress and ruin them, that they might not be able to disturb his government.

A. D. 1070.

Malcolm king of Scotland, so nearly connected with Edgar Atheling, intended to support his cause, and assist the insurgents; but was too dilatory in his motions. At length, however, he marched out of Cumberland, which was then under his dominion, into Northumberland, which he plundered with great severity; and then returned into his own kingdom with much booty, and so great a number of prisoners, that (if we may believe an ancient English historian) there was hardly a village, or even a house in Scotland, in which you might not meet with an English slave or slaves⁴².

Malcolm king of Scotland invades Northumberland.

The two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, who had remained quiet during all the violent commotions of the preceding year, now discovered, very unseasonably, their fear or their disaffection by flying from the court. Morcar took shelter in the isle of Ely, where either by force or fraud he was taken, and thrown into prison. Edwin

A. D. 1071. Edwin and Morcar revolt, and are suppressed.

⁴¹ R. Hoveden, p. 258. col. 2.

⁴² Id. ibid. p. 259.

A. D. 1071.

attempting to make his escape into Scotland, the common asylum of the afflicted English of those times, was betrayed by three brothers his most familiar friends, into the hands of the Normans, and after a brave defence, was killed with about twenty of his attendants. As this amiable, but unfortunate young nobleman, had been much beloved, he was greatly lamented, especially by his countrymen the English; and even the unrelenting William, who had been long inured to blood and slaughter, could not refrain from tears when he beheld his head presented to him by the traitors, in hopes of a reward; instead of which he condemned them to perpetual exile⁴³. After the death of Edwin, and imprisonment of Morcar, all their great estates were confiscated, and either vested in the crown or granted to the Normans⁴⁴. Still further to gratify his own avarice, and that of his followers, having received intelligence, that many of the wretched English had concealed their money and plate in monasteries, he commanded them to be strictly searched, and these effects to be seized and confiscated wherever they could be found⁴⁵.

A. D. 1072.
William's
expedition
into Scot-
land.

As Malcolm, king of Scotland, had given a kind reception to all the English exiles, and was ever ready to assist them in their attempts against the Norman government, William, having now

⁴³ Orderic. Vital. p. 521. J. Brompt. col. 969. Chron. Saxon. p. 181.

⁴⁴ Orderic. Vital. p. 522.

⁴⁵ Annal. Waverliën. p. 130.

suppressed all the insurrections in England, resolved on an expedition into Scotland. In consequence of this resolution he conducted an army into that country, where he was met by Malcolm at the head of an army of equal strength. After the two armies had faced each other several days, a negotiation was set on foot, which terminated in a peace, by which Malcolm agreed to do homage to William for his lands in England, and William agreed to receive Edgar Atheling again into favour, and grant him an honourable establishment⁴⁶. On his return from Scotland, William deprived Gospatric of the earldom of Northumberland, and bestowed it upon Walthof, who was now become a great favourite, and to whom he had given his own niece Judith in marriage⁴⁷.

By this peace with Scotland, and the reduction of England to a state of tranquillity, William was now at liberty to make a second voyage to the continent, to suppress a revolt in the country of Maine, fomented by Fulk earl of Anjou, who had some pretensions to that county. Willing to allow the Normans settled in England to enjoy some repose after so many toils and dangers, he composed the army which he carried with him chiefly of his English subjects; who fighting with great bravery, in order to retrieve their national character for valour, and to

A. D. 1073.
William
visits Nor-
mandy.

⁴⁶ Annal. Waverlien. p. 130. Chron. Saxon. p. 181.

⁴⁷ Orderic. Vital. p. 522.

A. D. 1073.

gain, if possible, the esteem and favour of their sovereign, soon reduced the disputed country to his obedience⁴⁸. William spent the whole of this, and the greatest part of the year 1074, in Normandy, enjoying the company of his family, and regulating the affairs of his dominions.

A. D. 1074.

A conspiracy of the Normans discovered and defeated.

While the Conqueror was thus employed in his native country, a conspiracy was forming against him in England, by some of those Norman barons on whom he had heaped wealth and honours with a liberal hand. Roger earl of Hereford, son and heir of William's great favourite Fitz-Osborne, had promised his sister in marriage to Ralph de Guader earl of Norfolk, and applied to the king for his consent to their nuptials; which he, for reasons unknown to us, refused. The two haughty barons were much enraged at this refusal, and, without regarding it, proceeded to the celebration of the intended marriage, and invited all the chief friends of both families to the marriage-feast, amongst others Waltheof earl of Huntingdon, Northampton, and Northumberland, married to Judith the king's niece, the only Englishman who then enjoyed any considerable degree of power, wealth, or royal favour. When the guests were heated with liquor at the nuptial banquet, politics were introduced; the two earls gave free vent to their discontent and resentment against William, representing him as an infamous bastard, an in-

⁴⁸ Chron. Saxon. p. 182.

solent imperious tyrant, unworthy to reign over such brave men as they were, and at length proposed a conspiracy to deprive him of the kingdom, which they suggested might be easily accomplished in his absence, by the assistance of the Danes, Welsh, and discontented English. Waltheof at first hesitated, and objected; but was at last prevailed upon to enter into the conspiracy, which, to their inflamed imaginations, appeared perfectly just, and easy of execution. When rest, however, had dispelled the fumes of liquor, it was seen in a very different light by the unhappy Waltheof, who became thoughtful, restless, and apprehensive. At length, to relieve his loaded heart, he communicated the whole secret of the conspiracy to his wife, of whose fidelity he entertained no doubt. But the faithless Judith, whose affections were secretly fixed on another object, glad of an opportunity of ruining her husband, sent a trusty messenger into Normandy to reveal the plot to her uncle, and to aggravate the guilt of Waltheof as much as possible. Waltheof, not yet easy in his mind, revealed the fatal secret to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, under the seal of confession, professing repentance, and asking his advice. That prelate advised him immediately to go to Normandy, and communicate the whole affair to the king, as the most effectual means of meriting and obtaining his forgiveness. He complied with this advice; and met with a reception seemingly not unfavourable, though he was detained

A.D. 1074.



detained in custody. As soon as the other conspirators heard of the flight of Waltheof into Normandy, they concluded that he had betrayed them, and rashly flew to arms before their plot was ripe for execution. The earl of Hereford was defeated, and taken prisoner, by the nobles and prelates of Worcestershire. The other great conspirator, Ralph earl of Norfolk, being routed near Cambridge, by Odo bishop of Bayeux, and regent of the kingdom, took shelter in his castle of Norwich; where he was besieged, with his lady and family. The earl, dreading to fall into the hands of his enemies, made his escape beyond sea; after which his lady surrendered the castle, and agreed to go into perpetual exile. Soon after this a Danish fleet and army arrived on the English coast to the assistance of the conspirators; but hearing that they were suppressed, returned to Denmark without landing⁴⁹.

William
returns to
England.

William arrived in England in autumn this year, and found the public tranquillity restored, by the dispersion or imprisonment of the insurgents. According to his unjust and cruel policy, he punished the common people with great severity, hanging some and mutilating others. The earl of Hereford, though he had been the author of this conspiracy, yet, being a Norman, and the son of a favourite, was treated with great lenity, and only consigned to perpetual confinement⁵⁰.


⁴⁹ Orderic. Vital. p. 434, 435. R. Hoveden, p. 262. Chron. Saxon. p. 182, 183.

⁵⁰ Orderic. Vital. p. 435.

The

The unhappy Waltheof did not meet with the same indulgence, though he had the strongest claims to mercy. He had been drawn into the conspiracy when he was in a state of intoxication; he repented of it as soon as he recovered the exercise of his reason; and he prevented its success by a seasonable discovery. But, being an Englishman, and possessed of great wealth, he was obnoxious to the Norman courtiers, who coveted his estates, and, in conjunction with his unfaithful wife, pushed on the prosecution against him with great violence. On his trial he denied that he had ever entered into the conspiracy, but confessed that he had concealed it for a time. His judges were divided in their opinions, and held several consultations before they condemned him to death. Even after that hard sentence was pronounced, William hesitated, and kept him some months in prison at Winchester. In this interval the English were full of anxiety for his safety, and put up incessant prayers to Heaven for his deliverance, while Judith and the Norman courtiers eagerly solicited his execution. At length William yielded to their importunity, and granted a warrant for his death; which was executed, with indecent haste, and other circumstances of cruelty, very early in the morning, April 29, on a rising ground without the gates of Winchester. Thus fell, by the intrigues of a wicked woman, and of covetous ambitious courtiers, one of the best and greatest, and almost the last of the ancient English nobles! His death
was

A.D. 1075.
Earl Waltheof condemned and executed.

A.D. 1075.  was bitterly bewailed by his unhappy countrymen, who long revered his memory, both as a hero and a saint⁵¹.

A.D. 1076.
William
returns to
Norman-
dy.

The other chief conspirator, Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, had great possessions in Brittany, to which he retired after his escape from his castle of Norwich. As soon as William had settled his affairs in England, he pursued him to the continent, and besieged him in the city of Dol, in which he had taken refuge, solemnly swearing not to raise the siege till he had taken the city and seized his enemy. But he soon found that it was not in his power to keep his oath. For the king of France and duke of Brittany espousing the cause of the besieged, marched with a powerful army to their relief, and obliged William to raise the siege with great precipitation, leaving tents and baggage behind him to the value of fifteen thousand pounds. A peace was soon after concluded between all the contending parties, which was cemented by the marriage of the princess Constance, a daughter of the king of England, to the duke of Brittany⁵².

War be-
tween
William
and his
eldest son
Robert.

William had now reduced all his subjects, and made peace with all his neighbours, and expected to enjoy some repose. These expectations proved delusive, and he soon found himself involved in fresh troubles of a most disagreeable kind, occa-

⁵¹ Orderic. Vital. p. 536, 537.

⁵² Chron. Saxon. p. 183. Orderic. Vital. p. 544.

sioned by the ambitious and impatient spirit of Robert his eldest son. That young prince had some years before been declared heir to all his father's dominions on the continent, and now began to insist with much earnestness on the immediate possession of some of these dominions. For some time William eluded his applications by evasive answers; but at last he was obliged to tell him plainly, that he was determined not to resign any of his territories while he lived³³. This denial increased the discontent and anger of Robert, which was blown up into an ungovernable flame by the following incident, trifling in itself, but important in its consequences. The king spending some time this year in the castle of L'Aigle with his court, his two younger sons, William and Henry, in a youthful frolic threw some water from an upper apartment on their elder brother Robert and his companions, who were walking in the court below. Robert, naturally passionate, and at that time in a peevish discontented state of mind, flew into a rage, drew his sword, and ran up stairs, threatening to take a bloody revenge on his brothers, of whose favour with their father he was not a little jealous. This occasioned a prodigious tumult and uproar in the castle; and nothing but the presence and authority of the king could have prevented some fatal mischief. The tumult was quelled; but the wrath of Robert was not ap-

A.D. 1076.

³³ Orderic. Vital. p. 569.

peased;

A.D. 1076.



peased; for he privately retired from court that very evening, with a number of the young nobility attached to his fortunes, with a view to surprise the citadel of Rouen, the capital of Normandy. They were disappointed in this design by the vigilance of the governor; and as soon as William heard of this rebellious attempt, he issued orders to seize his son and all his companions. A few of them were taken; but Robert and the others made their escape, and were received by Hugh de Neuf-Chatel into his castles. An open war now broke out between the father and the son; which raged with great violence, and unspeakable mischief to the country, almost three years²⁴.

A.D. 1079.

William
reconciled
to his son.

At length the conduct, valour, and fortune of William prevailed; and Robert, though he had been joined by many of the young nobility of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, secretly aided by the king of France, and privately supplied with money by his mother queen Matilda, was driven out of Normandy, and took shelter with his remaining followers in the castle of Gerberoy in France. His father pursued him thither, and besieged the castle; which was defended with great valour, and many vigorous sallies. In one of these Robert encountered, wounded, and unhorsed his father; who discovered himself, by crying out as he fell to the ground. As soon as the son heard his parent's voice, he was pene-

²⁴ Orderic. Vital. p. 545. M. Paris, p. 7. R. Hoveden, p. 262.
trated

trated with remorse and horror at what he had done, sprung from his horse, fell on his knees, and most earnestly implored his pardon. William, chagrined with the indignity of his fall, the smart of his wound, and the many vexations which his son's rebellion had occasioned, did not immediately relent; but mounting his horse, and pronouncing a curse instead of a pardon, returned to his army⁵⁵. There reflecting coolly on his son's submissive behaviour, his parental affections began to operate: he raised the siege, returned into Normandy, and by the intercession of queen Matilda, and other common friends, he was reconciled to Robert and his adherents⁵⁶.

A.D. 1079.

While William resided in Normandy, some events happened in England which seemed to require his presence. Malcolm king of Scotland invaded Northumberland, A. D. 1078, and carried off much booty and many prisoners⁵⁷. Walcher bishop of Durham, and earl of Northumberland, was killed May 14, A. D. 1080, at Gateshead, with about one hundred of his attendants, by the family and friends of one Leulf, an English nobleman, who had been basely murdered by Liothwin and Gillebert, two of the bishop's favourites⁵⁸. William, on his return into England, in autumn this year, sent an army into the north under the command of his son Robert,

A.D. 1080.
William
sends his
son Robert
with an
army into
the north.

⁵⁵ M. Paris, p. 7. Orderic. Vital. p. 572, 573.

⁵⁶ R. Hoveden, p. 262. ⁵⁷ Id. ibid. Chron. Saxon. p. 184.

⁵⁸ Simeon Dunelm. col. 48.

who

A.D. 1080. who had come with him out of Normandy; and of his own uterine brother Odo bishop of Bayeux, and earl of Kent, to chastise the Northumbrians, and retaliate the injuries which had been done by the king of Scotland. It was in the course of this expedition that Robert built a castle, near the place where the bishop of Durham had been slain, which he called *Newcastle*, from which the flourishing town of Newcastle upon Tyne derived its origin⁵⁹.

A.D. 1081.
Doomsday book.

Tranquillity being now restored to William's family and dominions, he began about this time, or perhaps a little later, the famous survey of England, which doth more honour to his memory than any of his victories. This survey was conducted by commissioners, taking information upon oath in each county, of the following particulars; the name of every town or village;—who held it in king Edward's days;—who now possessed it;—how many freemen, villains, and cottagers were in it;—how many hides of land were in each manor;—how many of these were in the demesne;—how much wood-land, meadow, and pasture;—how much it paid in taxes in king Edward's days;—and how much now;—how many mills and fish-ponds.—And in some places they were even more particular, and took an account of the horses, black cattle, swine, sheep, and hives of bees⁶⁰. All these informations were returned by the commissioners, and

⁵⁹ R. Hoveden, p. 263.

⁶⁰ Chron. Saxon, p. 186.

formed into the two valuable volumes of Doomf-day-book, which are still preserved in the exchequer. By this survey William acquired an exact knowledge of the possessions of the crown, the church, the nobility, and land-owners; and of the number, quality, and wealth, of all his subjects; from whence so wise a prince might derive manifold advantages.

A. D. 1081.

About this time Odo, bishop of Bayeux, forfeited the favour of William his uterine brother, by whom he had been loaded with benefits. That ambitious prelate, not contented with all the honours which he enjoyed, had cast his eyes upon the papal dignity; and in order to secure his advancement to it on the first vacancy, had amassed prodigious treasures, and engaged many powerful friends, with whom he proposed to go to Rome. William, unwilling to see so great a mass of money and so many useful subjects carried out of the kingdom, put a stop to this design, by seizing Odo in the isle of Wight, as he was ready to embark, and confining him in prison in the castle of Rouen, where he remained till the king's death⁶¹.

A. D. 1082.
William
seize his
uterine
brother
Odo.

William made a voyage into Normandy this year to visit his queen, Matilda, who had fallen into a lingering illness, of which she died on November 2. That princess, who is said to have been amiable in her person, virtuous in her manners, and remarkable for her learning, lived

A. D. 1083.
Death of
queen Ma-
tilda.

⁶¹ Orderic. Vital. p. 646. R. Hoveden, p. 263.

A. D. 1087.

Death of
William.

The misunderstanding which had long subsisted in secret between the Conqueror and Philip king of France, now broke out into an open war, occasioned, as it is said, by a witticism of that king, who hearing that William, who was now become very corpulent, had been some weeks confined by sickness, said, "He hoped his brother of England would soon be delivered of his great belly, and be able to come abroad." This sarcasm being reported to William, put him into a violent passion, and made him swear, "by the brightness and resurrection of God (his usual oath), that as soon as he came abroad he would light up a thousand fires in France for the joy of his recovery⁶⁷." Nor did he neglect to execute this threat. For in the last week of July, when the corns and fruits were all ripe, he entered France at the head of a powerful army, destroying every thing as he advanced; and having taken the town of Mante, he commanded it to be set on fire and reduced to ashes. But here a stop was put to his destructive career. For being overheated by the warmth of the weather and flames of the town, and having received a bruise in his belly by the pummel of his saddle, he was seized with a slow fever, of which he died at the abbey of St. Gervais near Rouen, September 9, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the twenty-first year of his reign over England⁶⁸. He enjoyed the

⁶⁷ M. Paris, p. 9. M. Westminster, p. 230.⁶⁸ Orderic. Vital. p. 655.

full exercise of his reason during his sickness, made his will with great deliberation, bequeathing his dominions on the continent to Robert his eldest son, the kingdom of England to his second son William, and a sum of money to his youngest son Henry. To appease the reproaches of his conscience for the cruelties which he had committed, he commanded all the state-prisoners to be released, directed great sums of money to be distributed to the churches and the clergy, and practised all the other tricks of superstition that were then in vogue. He also entertained his courtiers with long discourses on the vanity of worldly greatness; of which they gave the strongest proof, by every one of them abandoning his remains as soon as he expired⁶⁹.

A. D. 1087.

William I. commonly called *the Conqueror*, was strong, healthy, and graceful in his person, though his countenance was rather stern than gracious; and he became corpulent in the latter part of his life. He excelled in riding, shooting with the bow, and in all martial and manly exercises. His passion for hunting was excessive, in gratifying which he was guilty of the most horrid cruelties. He had ambition and boldness to attempt, and courage and wisdom to execute, the most arduous enterprises, of which his conquest of England is a sufficient proof. He was religious according to the mode of the times in which he lived, and treated the clergy with great respect.

His character.

⁶⁹ Orderic. Vital. p. 655.

A. D. 1087. when they did not oppose his will. Temperance and chastity were his greatest virtues; ambition, avarice, and cruelty, his most pernicious vices. His government was harsh, arbitrary, and tyrannical, especially to his English subjects; who were reduced so low, that before the end of his reign there was not so much as one Englishman who was either earl, baron, bishop, or abbot. In a word, William the Conqueror was one of the greatest generals and politicians, but one of the most tyrannical and cruel kings that ever sat on the throne of England.⁷⁰

Succession
and coro-
nation
of Wil-
liam II.

William, surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the colour of his hair, second surviving son of the Conqueror, who was present with his father on his deathbed, having obtained his nomination to the crown of England, with a letter of recommendation to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, did not stay to pay the last duties to his expiring parent, but hastened over the sea to take possession of the crown. As soon as he arrived in England, he got possession of his father's treasures at Winchester, and of the most important fortresses on the coast; and his cause being warmly espoused by Lanfranc, by whom he had been educated and knighted in his youth, he was crowned at Westminster, September 27, by that prelate, assisted by the archbishop of York, eight other bishops, and many of the chief nobility.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Chron. Saxon. p. 190, 191. W. Malmf. p. 63. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 212, 213. Ingulph. p. 70.

⁷¹ Orderic. Vital. p. 659. W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 68.

After

After his coronation he returned to Winchester, to take a more particular account of his father's treasures, which he found to amount to sixty thousand pounds in money, equal in weight of silver to one hundred and eighty thousand pounds; and in efficacy to nine hundred thousand pounds of our money; besides gold and silver plate, jewels, and other precious effects, to a much greater value. With some part of this money he paid the legacies which had been left by his father to the churches, the clergy, and the poor; by which he gained popularity to himself, as well as shewed a regard to the will of a parent, to whose affection he had been so much indebted ⁷².

A. D. 1087.

Though the coronation of Rufus had not been openly opposed, it was secretly disliked by many of the chief nobility, who knew his fierce imperious character; and having great estates in Normandy, as well as in England, were sensible that it would be impossible to preserve them both, if these two countries continued under different sovereigns, who would often be at variance. These nobles therefore (of whom Odo bishop of Bayeux, Robert earl of Mortain, the two maternal brothers of the late king, Eustace earl of Boulogne, and Robert de Belesme, were the chief), being then in Normandy, formed a conspiracy for dethroning William, and raising his elder brother Robert duke of Normandy to the throne of England. They communicated

A. D. 1088.
Conspiracy
against
William
II.⁷² Chron. Saxon. p. 192. Brompt. p. 983.

A.D. 1088.

That conspiracy is frustrated.

their designs to Robert, who encouraged them to proceed, and promised to support them with a powerful army. The conspirators came over to England in the end of the last and the beginning of this year, to increase their party, and prepare for the execution of their plot. In the first of these intentions they were not unsuccessful, prevailing upon many, and, amongst others, upon William Bishop of Durham, the king's greatest favourite, to enter into their views. The conspirators thinking themselves sufficiently strong, began to give intimations of their designs, by collecting their followers, and fortifying their castles, rather too soon; which was one great cause of their miscarriage⁷³.

William, justly alarmed at this formidable combination against him, exerted all his vigour to defeat his enemies, and preserve the crown he had obtained. Observing that the greatest part of the Normans were engaged in the conspiracy, he had recourse to the English, who still constituted the body of the people; and by fair promises, of reviving their ancient laws, and of allowing them the liberty of hunting in the royal forests, he persuaded thirty thousand of them to espouse his cause. With these, and such Norman barons as adhered to him, he took the field, and in one campaign reduced the castles of Tunbridge, Pevensey, and Rochester; in the

⁷³ Orderic. Vital. p. 666. Chron. Saxon. p. 193. W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 68.

last of which Odo bishop of Bayeux; Eustace earl of Boulogne, Robert de Belesme, and other chiefs of the conspiracy, fell into his hands. At first he resolved to make them feel the utmost rigour of the law; but was at last so much softened by the earnest intreaties of some of their friends, who had been faithful to him, that he spared their lives, allowed them to retire into Normandy, and contented himself with confiscating their estates, which were of great value. Some of these estates he bestowed upon his friends who had assisted him in his distress, and others he retained in his own possession. The duke of Normandy had made a feeble attempt to support his partisans, by sending a small fleet, with some troops, to their assistance; but they were intercepted and defeated by the English fleet ⁷⁴.

A. D. 1088.

By the suppression of this rebellion Rufus was firmly established on the throne of England, and soon forgot all his promises to the unhappy English who had contributed so much to his establishment. The restoration of their ancient laws and liberties was no more heard of; and instead of allowing them to hunt in the royal forests, to do it was made a capital crime ⁷⁵. He was not so apt to forget injuries as benefits; and retaining a lively resentment against his brother Robert, in whose behalf the late conspiracy had been formed, he determined to be revenged, by depriving him

A. D. 1089:
Expedition into
Normandy proposed.

⁷⁴ Chron. Saxon. p. 193, 194, 195. Orderic. Vital. p. 167, 168. W. Malmf. p. 68.

⁷⁵ W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 70.

A.D. 1089.

of his dominions. To facilitate the execution of this design, he corrupted the governors of several strong places in Normandy, particularly of St. Valeri and Albemarle, who admitted English garrisons into these towns⁷⁶. He also held an assembly of his great barons at Winchester, to whom he proposed an expedition into Normandy, to revenge the attempt which had been made to deprive him of his crown; and the proposal was favourably entertained⁷⁷.

A.D. 1090.
State of
Norman-
dy.

Normandy at this time was a scene of great confusion, occasioned by the imprudence and indolence of its sovereign, and the turbulence of its nobility, who made war against each other, as if they had been independent princes. To complete the miseries of that unhappy country, the province of Maine revolted, and attempted to shake off the Norman yoke, which it had always borne with reluctance⁷⁸. Robert, conscious of his inability to reduce his own subjects to obedience, and resist the threatened invasion from England, implored the protection of Philip king of France; who espoused his cause, and marched at the head of an army to his relief. But of this protection he was soon deprived by the intrigues of his brother William, who, by a great bribe, prevailed upon Philip to abandon Robert, and return with his army into his own dominions⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ R. Hoveden, p. 265.⁷⁷ Orderic. Vital. p. 680.⁷⁸ Id. p. 683.⁷⁹ Annal. Waverlien. p. 137. R. Hoveden, p. 265.

Rufus,

Rufus, having in the preceding year paved the way for the conquest of Normandy, by gaining many of its nobility to his party, sailed into that country with an army about Candlemas this year, with a design to complete the work. At his landing he was met by many Norman barons, who having great estates in England and in Normandy, were very desirous of such an agreement between the two brothers as might secure them in the possession of their fortunes in both countries. At their earnest intercession, a negotiation was set on foot, and at last a peace concluded on the following terms:—That the king of England should keep the county of Ew, the towns of Fischamp, Albemarle, and all other places of which he had got possession; in return for which the barons of Robert's party should be restored to their Estates in England, and William should assist Robert to reduce the province of Maine and the rest of Normandy to his obedience. By another article it was declared, that if either of the two brothers died without issue, the other should succeed to his whole dominions⁸⁰. This peace was guaranteed by twelve of the most powerful barons of each party, who solemnly swore to see it faithfully observed.

No person had so much reason to be dissatisfied with this peace, as prince Henry, the Conqueror's youngest son; who, by the first article, saw himself in danger of being stript of the Co-

A.D. 1091.

Peace
made be-
tween
William
and Ro-
bert.

Prince
Henry be-
sieged by
his two
brothers.

⁸⁰ Chron. Saxon. p. 197. R. Hoveden, p. 265.

tentin,

A.D. 1091.

tentin, a country of Normandy, which he had purchased from his brother Robert with a part of the money left him by his father; and by the second article, he beheld himself deprived of all hopes of succeeding either to Normandy or England, on the demise of one of his brothers without heirs. This young prince being brave and resolute, determined to defend his property; and collecting some troops who were willing to follow his fortunes, he seized and fortified Mount St. Michael, resolving to defend it to the last extremity. His two ungenerous and too powerful brothers having reduced all the rest of the Cotentin, came and laid siege to the place where he had taken shelter. In the course of this siege the king of England was thrown from his horse, and on the point of being slain by a common trooper. The place was defended with great obstinacy; but the besieged, after suffering great hardships from thirst and hunger, were obliged to surrender from a total failure of their provisions, and were allowed to go where they pleased. After this the unfortunate Henry wandered from place to place for some time, with a few faithful friends, without any settled residence or means of support⁸¹.

A.D. 1092,
and 1093.
Rupture
between
William
and Robert.

After the pacification above mentioned, and the reduction of the Cotentin, Robert duke of Normandy came into England with his brother

⁸¹ Chron. de Mailrofs, p. 161. T. Radborn, p. 264. W. Malmf. p. 69. Orderic. Vital. p. 697.

William,

William, and assisted him in his war with Malcolm king of Scotland; which will be more particularly related in the history of that country. This harmony between the two brothers was not of long duration. For Robert, discovering that his brother still continued his intrigues on the continent, and endeavoured to increase his party among the Norman barons, left England in discontent about Christmas A. D. 1092, and returned into his own dominions. Rufus falling dangerously ill at Gloucester in the following Lent, was seized with great remorse for his vices, and particularly for his tyrannical and oppressive government; and made many solemn promises of amendment; which were all forgotten as soon as he recovered ⁸².

A. D. 1093.

Duke Robert, after his return into his own country, discovered so many machinations of his brother William to debauch his subjects and disturb his government, that he was greatly irritated, and sent him an angry message, demanding his immediate appearance in Normandy to fulfil the conditions of the late treaty. William complied with this requisition, and went over to the continent in the spring; but with no good intention. The two brothers had an interview in presence of the lords of both parties who had sworn to see the late agreement performed by their respective sovereigns. This interview terminated in an open breach; for which William

A. D. 1094.
Hostilities
commenced.

⁸² Chron. Saxon. p. 198, 199.

was

A. D. 1093.



was universally condemned, That ambitious prince, thinking he had now found an opportunity of completing the ruin of his unhappy brother, by attacking him when he was at variance with many of his subjects, immediately began hostilities, by seizing some castles. But Robert was rescued from this imminent danger, by the interposition of the king of France, who marched an army to his relief; and by news from England, which obliged William to abandon his enterprize, and return into that kingdom⁸³.

A. D. 1095.

Conspiracy discovered and suppressed.

A dangerous conspiracy had been formed in his absence by Robert de Moubray earl of Northumberland, William earl of Ew, Roger de Lacey, and several other great barons, to dethrone him, and to raise his cousin Stephen earl of Aumale to the throne. William, naturally alert and keen, marched an army with great expedition into the north, by which he surprised some of the chief conspirators in Newcastle, and took the earl of Northumberland's brother at Tinnmouth. The earl himself was besieged in his castle of Bamburgh; and attempting to make his escape, he was taken, and thrown into prison at Windsor; where he lived in confinement no less than thirty years. Some of the other conspirators were hanged, and others mutilated, and all their great estates confiscated⁸⁴.

⁸³ M. Paris, p. 12. col. 2. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 214.

⁸⁴ R. Hoveden, p. 267. W. Malmf. l. 4. p. 70.

Robert

Robert duke of Normandy was seized with the epidemic frenzy of croisading, which about this time broke out in Europe, and, with several other princes, resolved to engage in an expedition into the East, for rescuing the city of Jerusalem, and the Holy Land, out of the hands of the Turks. To procure money for putting this rash design in execution, he proposed to mortgage his duchy three (some say five) years, to his brother William, for ten thousand marks. William joyfully accepted the proposal, extorted the money from his subjects in England, chiefly from the clergy, carried it over, paid it to his brother, and received the valuable pledge⁸⁵.

A. D. 1096.
Robert mortgages his dominions to William.

William, having taken possession of Normandy, came over into England about Easter, and made an unsuccessful expedition into Wales, in which he lost a great number of men, as he had done in some former expeditions. Tired with these fruitless attempts to reduce the Welsh, he commanded several castles to be built on the borders to check their incursions into England, and returned into Normandy in November, where his presence was wanted⁸⁶.

A. D. 1097.
Expedition into Wales.

His possession of Normandy involved William in wars with the king of France, and other neighbouring princes, who had seized certain territories which he pretended belonged to that

A. D. 1098.
War with France.

⁸⁵ Eadmer. p. 35. M. Paris, p. 20. col. 2. W. Malmf. p. 76. Orderic. Vital. p. 724.

⁸⁶ Annal. Waverlien. p. 140.

duchy,

A. D. 1098.

duchy. These wars were carried on all this year with various success, but without any very decisive event, except the recovery of the province of Maine from the brave Heli de la Fleche, who had defended it with great bravery several years; but being now taken prisoner, was obliged to resign it to regain his liberty ⁸⁷.

A. D. 1099.

War with
Heli de la
Fleche.

William, after the reduction of Maine, returned into England, and kept the festival of Whitsuntide in Westminster-hall, which he had built, and which, on account of its great dimensions and magnificence, was an object of universal admiration ⁸⁸. When Heli de la Fleche was set at liberty, he made an offer of his service to the king of England; which being rejected, he was inflamed with the most violent resentment, and retired, threatening to be revenged for the indignity. William, equally fierce and haughty, instead of seizing his person before he was out of his reach, commanded him, with a disdainful air, to be gone and do his worst ⁸⁹. The indignant baron, retired to his estate, spent his time in preparing for the execution of his revenge. About the beginning of June, getting together a body of troops, he surprised the city of Mans, the capital of Maine; but could not take the castle. The messenger who was sent to acquaint William with this event, found him hunting in the New Forest;

⁸⁷ Orderic. Vital. p. 767. 771. ⁸⁸ Annal. Waverlicn. p. 163.

⁸⁹ Orderic. Vital. p. 773.

and though he was prodigiously fond of that diversion, he no sooner heard what had happened, than he put spurs to his horse, and rode full speed towards the sea-coast, instantly embarked, though it blew a furious storm, and landed next morning at Barfleur. From thence he proceeded with equal impetuosity to Bonneville, joined his army, and marched towards Mans. Heli hearing of his unexpected approach, raised the siege, and retired to the strong castle of Chateau de Loir⁹⁰. The king, after he had desolated the lands of his enemy, dismissed his forces, and returned to England.

A. D. 1099.

William duke of Guyenne, neither instructed nor deterred by the calamities which had befallen other princes, and their followers, who had abandoned their own country, and gone to the Holy Land, put himself at the head of a new army of croisaders, and offered to mortgage his duchy to the king of England for a sum of money, to defray the expences of his expedition. Rufus, as ambitious as he was rich, accepted the offer, provided the money, and prepared an army to take possession of his new territories, with which he lay near the sea-coast, waiting for a fair wind to waft him to the continent. On August 2, after dinner, the king, with his brother prince Henry, and a numerous retinue, went to hunt in the New Forest, where an event happened which put an end to all the projects of

A. D. 1100.
William
killed.⁹⁰ Oderic. Vital. p. 775.

A.D. 1100.

this restless and ambitious monarch. Towards evening, when the company were dispersed in pursuit of their game, a buck suddenly springing between the king and one Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman who excelled in archery, he discharged an arrow at him, which, glancing on a tree, struck his royal master on the breast, pierced his heart, and deprived him of life, almost without a groan⁹¹.

His character.

Thus fell William Rufus, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and fortieth of his age, when he was in perfect health, in great prosperity, and full of schemes for the enlargement of his dominions, the increase of his riches, and the gratification of his passions. In his person he was strong and active, of a sanguine complexion, red hair, a stern and haughty aspect, with a stammering in his speech, especially when he was angry. In his temper he was ambitious, covetous, cruel, proud, and passionate; a profane swearer, and scoffer at all religion; addicted to wine and women; vain in his dress; delighting in the society of the loose and profligate of both sexes. His great activity, bravery, and skill in war, would have been virtues, if they had not been employed in robbing his unhappy brother of his dominions, and in disturbing all his neighbours. To his English subjects he was ungrateful and perfidious, violating all his promises,

⁹¹ Chron. Saxon. p. 207. R. Hoveden, p. 268. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 217. M. Paris, p. 37. W. Malmf. p. 71.

and

and trampling upon all their laws. To his soldiers, and to those who administered to his pleasures, he was profuse of that money which he had extorted from his people by the most oppressive arts. Ralph Flambard, a man of mean birth and most abandoned character, his greatest favourite, and the chief instrument of his tyranny, was raised by him to the highest honours, being bishop of Durham and chief justiciary of the kingdom⁹². It is no wonder that a prince of this odious character died unlamented. As he was never married, he left no legitimate children.

A. D. 1100.

It is now time to take a transient view of such of the civil and military transactions of the other British nations as have not been already mentioned.

From A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1100.

The civil and military history of Wales in that period which is the subject of this section, consists entirely of the successions of the petty princes of its several districts, their mutual wars against each other, or their predatory incursions into the English territories. A minute detail of these unimportant events would be tedious; a general one would be unsatisfactory and unintelligible: it may be better therefore to refer such of our readers as desire to be more particularly informed, to the work quoted below⁹³.

History of Wales.

⁹² Chron. Saxon. p. 207, 208. W. Malmf. l. 4. passim. Eadmerus, p. 14. 47. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 217.

⁹³ The History of Cambria, now called *Wales*, written in the British language, translated by H. Lloyd, and continued by D. Powel, D. D. p. 104—157.

A.D. 1066,
to 1100.

History of
Scotland.

Malcolm III. surnamed *Canmore*, or *Great-head*, had been peaceably seated on the throne of Scotland, about nine years before the landing of William duke of Normandy; and during that time had lived in peace, and even in friendship, with Edward the Confessor, by whom he had been assisted in recovering the kingdom of his ancestors from the usurper Macbeth⁹⁴. Many of the English nobility, who had been engaged in the unfortunate battle of Hastings, or had been concerned in unsuccessful insurrections against the Conqueror, fled into Scotland, and were kindly received by Malcolm; especially after his marriage with Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, the favourite of the English nation, and the true heir of the English crown. At the instigation of these noble refugees, and in support of the pretensions of his brother-in-law, he made several inroads into England (the most considerable of which have been occasionally mentioned), which were retaliated by similar inroads of the Conqueror and his successor into Scotland. In consequence of a pacification made between William Rufus and Malcolm, in one of these incursions, A.D. 1092, the king of Scotland the year after paid a visit to the English court at Gloucester; but met with such haughty and ungracious treatment, that he returned home in discontent, and raised an army, with which he invaded England for the fifth time⁹⁵. This

⁹⁴ See vol. 3. ch. 1. p. 165.

⁹⁵ Chron. Saxon. p. 198, 199. R. Hoveden, p. 266.

was


was a most unfortunate expedition; for king Malcolm, with his eldest son prince Edward, falling into an ambush, were both killed, November 13, A. D. 1093, by Robert Mowbray earl of Northumberland. Queen Margaret was so much affected with the melancholy news of the slaughter of her beloved husband and favourite son, that she died a few days after of grief. Malcolm, who was a brave and good prince, had, by his pious and amiable consort, six sons, viz. Edward, who was slain with his father; Edmund, who embraced a religious life; Ethelred, who died in his infancy; Edgar, Alexander, and David, who were successively kings of Scotland; and two daughters, viz. Matilda, who was married to Henry I. king of England; and Mary, who was married to Eustace earl of Boulogne.

A. D. 1066,
to 1100.

The surviving sons of Malcolm being young at the time of his death, and the rules of succession to the crown in Scotland being still unsettled, it was usurped by his brother Donald, surnamed *Baan* or *the White*; and the young princes Edgar, Alexander, and David, retired into England; where they were kindly entertained by their maternal uncle Edgar Atheling. Donald is said to have been raised to the throne by that party among the Scots, who had been dissatisfied with the late king, for his great liberality to the English exiles. In order to support himself in his usurpation, he ceded the western isles to Magnus king of Norway, who engaged to assist

Usurpa-
tion of
Donald
Baan, &c.
&c.

A.D. 1066,
to 1100.



him against all his enemies. This measure, with some severities exercised against those who refused to swear submission to his authority, soon raised many malecontents, who invited Duncan, natural son of the late king, a brave warrior, in the service of William Rufus, to come into Scotland, and attempt to dethrone the usurper. Duncan complied with the invitation; and coming, attended by some English troops, and being joined by all the friends of Malcolm and his family, Donald found himself too weak to make a stand, and retired into the western isles about six months after his accession. The greatness of the late conqueror of England had reflected so much honour on bastardy, in which he seemed to glory, that it was little or no obstruction to successions; and Duncan was crowned king of Scotland, to the exclusion of the legitimate sons of king Malcolm. But this prince having spent his whole life in camps, and being little acquainted with the conduct of civil government, and delighting most in the company of the English and Normans, soon became unpopular, and was murdered by Malpeder earl of Mearns, a friend of the late king Donald, in the castle of Monteith, A. D. 1095. On the news of this event, Donald left his lurking-place in the isles; and, by the help of his partisans, and an army of Norwegians, once more took possession of the crown of Scotland. But he did not long enjoy this second usurpation. For Edgar Atheling, being furnished with a
body

body of troops by William Rufus, conducted his nephew prince Edgar, the eldest legitimate son of the late king Malcolm, into Scotland, about Michaelmas A. D. 1097, defeated the usurper, took him prisoner, and seated the young prince on the throne of his ancestors⁹⁶.

A. D. 1066,
to 1100.

SECTION II.

The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the accession of Henry I. A. D. 1100, to the accession of Henry II. A. D. 1154.

HENRY, the youngest son of William the Conqueror, was in another part of the New Forest pursuing his game, when his brother William was killed; and no sooner heard of that event, than he put spurs to his horse, and galloped to Winchester to seize the royal treasure, in order to usurp the crown; a design equally daring and unnatural, as he knew that his eldest brother Robert, who had a better title, both by primogeniture, and by a solemn compact with the last possessor, ratified by the chief nobility, was alive, and on his return from the Holy Land, crowned with laurels. William de Breteuil, the keeper of the royal treasure, was also in the field, and, suspecting what might

A. D. 1100.

Prince
Henry
usurps the
crown

⁹⁶ Chron. Saxon. p. 199. 206. Buchannan Hist. 1. 7. p. 199. Boeth. Scot. Hist. 1. 12. p. 269. Fordun. Scot. Chron. 1. 5. c. 21—24.

A.D. 1100.

happen, rode to Winchester with equal speed. At his arrival he found prince Henry demanding the keys of the treasury, with many threats; and boldly interposed, declaring, that both the treasure and the crown belonged to Robert his elder brother, to whom both he and the prince had sworn fealty, and that for his use he was determined to keep what had been committed to his charge. The prince, sensible that if he failed in this attempt, he could not hope for success in his chief design, drew his sword, and threatened immediate death to any who should oppose him; and being supported by some nobles who espoused his cause, he got possession of all the treasure; with which he hastened to London, the capital of the kingdom¹. Here, by great gifts, and greater promises, he made so many friends, that he was crowned at Westminster by Maurice bishop of London, on Sunday 5th August, in less than three days after his brother's death². So eager was he to seize the glittering prize, and so well had he employed his time.

Popular
measures
of king
Henry I.

Though Henry had thus obtained the crown by his courage and celerity, he was sensible that he could not keep it without the affections of his people, to gain which he employed every imaginable art of popularity. He recalled Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, the idol of the

¹ Orderic. Vital. p. 782. Simeon Dunelm. col. 225. R. de Diceto, col. 408. J. Brompt. col. 997.

² Simeon Dunelm. col. 225. R. de Diceto, col. 498.

clergy, from his exile: he published a royal charter, full of the most captivating promises of redressing all the wrongs of the two preceding reigns, reviving the laws of Edward the Confessor, and granting all the immunities that the greatest friends of liberty and of their country could desire: he seized Ralph Flambard bishop of Durham, the detested instrument of his brother's oppressions, and threw him into prison; and effectually to engage the hearts of the native English, who were yet a distinct people from the Normans, he married the princess Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, sister of Edgar the reigning king of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling. Besides all this, he banished from court all the profligate companions of his brother's pleasures, set many prisoners of state at liberty, and remitted many debts that were owing to the crown³. By these means his government became very agreeable, especially to the clergy and the common people, who felt a sensible difference between his mild administration and the tyranny of the late reign.

A.D. 1100.

Henry soon found both the necessity and advantage of his popularity. For his injured brother Robert returned from the Holy Land about a month after his accession, was joyfully received by all his Norman subjects, and encouraged to attempt the recovery of the crown of England.

A.D. 1101.
England
invaded by
Robert
duke of
Nor-
mandy.

³ M. Paris, p. 38, 39. Chron. Saxon. p. 208, 209. W. Malmf. 1. 5. p. 88. R. Hoveden, p. 269.

To

A.D. 1107.

To this he was also invited by Robert de Belesme earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, and his two brothers Roger and Arnulf, William de Warenne earl of Surrey, Walter Giffard, Yvo de Grentmesnil, and several other English barons, who promised to join him with all their followers⁴. He was further animated to this undertaking by the famous Ralph Flambard, who made his escape out of the tower of London, got over into Normandy, and became as great a favourite with Robert as he had been with Rufus⁵. Spurred on by resentment and ambition, and encouraged by the probability of success, Robert spent the winter and spring in making preparations for invading England. Henry was still more active in preparing for his defence, in which he was greatly assisted by the clergy, and the common people, especially the native English. Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he paid great court, espoused his cause with much warmth, attended him in all his motions, and confirmed many in his interest, who were wavering, by threatening them with the wrath of heaven, and the thunders of the church, if they revolted. He even became surety for Henry, to the barons of his party, that he would never break any of his promises, or revoke any of the liberties he had granted, and thereby kept them steady in their attachment⁶. In the mean time Henry fitted out a

⁴ Orderic. Vital. p. 785, 786.⁵ Id. ibid.⁶ Eadmer. Hist. p. 59.

fleet

A.D. 1101.

fleet to cruise on the coast of Normandy; but the greatest part of the ships were carried over to his brother by their commanders⁷. He also raised an army, composed chiefly of the native English, with a few Norman barons and their followers, with which he marched to Pevensey, about Midsummer, imagining the invasion would have been attempted at that place; but hearing that Robert had landed at Portsmouth, July 19th, and had been joined by his partizans, he directed his march that way⁸.

The two armies, at their approach, being nearly equal, and struck with mutual awe, stood facing each other several days without coming to action. This gave the archbishop and some barons of both parties, who were anxious about the event of a battle, and desirous of a peace, an opportunity of setting a treaty on foot, which terminated in an accommodation on the following terms. Robert relinquished his pretensions to the crown of England for an annual pension of three thousand marks. All the barons of both parties were restored to all their estates and honours in Normandy and England. Henry gave up to Robert all the places which he held in Normandy; and it was stipulated, that if either of the brothers died without legitimate male issue, the other should succeed to all his domi-

Peace between
Henry and
Robert.

⁷ Chron. Saxon. p. 209.

⁸ Orderic. Vital. p. 727. Simeon Dunelm. col. 226.

nions

A.D. 1101.

nions⁹. This peace, according to the custom of those times, was guaranteed by twelve of the most powerful barons of each party¹⁰. After this pacification, both armies were disbanded; and Robert having spent about two months with his brother in great festivity, returned into Normandy.

A.D. 1102.

Henry
ruins the
barons of
his brother's
party.

Though the barons of Robert's party were restored to their estates in England by the late treaty, they were not restored to the favour of their sovereign, who secretly resolved to embrace the first opportunity of accomplishing their destruction. He began with Robert de Belesme earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, who was at once the most powerful and most disaffected. That nobleman, after the late pacification, retired to his estates, and applied himself with great vigour to the fortifying his old castles, and building new ones; which furnished the king with a pretence to commence hostilities against him; in which he was so successful, that in a short campaign of three weeks, he took all his castles, and obliged him to retire into Normandy¹¹. Soon after his two brothers were also banished; and all the other barons who had joined Robert on his invasion, were, by various means, and under various pretences, either ruined or very much reduced¹².

⁹ Chron. Saxon. p. 209, 210. Orderic. Vital. p. 788. M. Paris, p. 40. R. Hoveden, p. 269.

¹⁰ J. Brompt. col. 998.

¹¹ R. Hoveden, p. 269.

¹² Orderic. Vital. p. 804. 808.

These

These severities exercised towards his friends, excited the most violent emotions of anger in the bosom of the honest-hearted but imprudent Robert, who came into England to expostulate with his too artful brother on his breaches of their late treaty. But he soon found reason to repent of this inconsiderate step. For though he was decently received, he observed that he was carefully watched in all his motions, which made him dread the loss of his liberty, for which he had made no previous stipulations. To extricate himself out of this dangerous situation, he resigned his pension of three thousand marks to the queen of England; on which he was permitted to retire, and returned into Normandy, covered with shame, and tormented with vexation at his own rashness¹¹.

A.D. 1103.

Robert
visits
England.

Normandy, at this time, was a scene of great confusion, through the indolence, imprudence, prodigality, and ill government of its sovereign, who had lost all authority. The great barons made war against each other, and desolated the country with fire and sword. This procured an invitation, from several Norman barons, to king Henry to come over, in order to put a stop to these confusions, and restore peace to that unhappy country. He joyfully accepted of this invitation, and went into Normandy about Midsummer, attended by a body of troops. At his arrival he was waited upon by many of the greatest

A.D. 1104.

Henry
visits Nor-
mandy,
and re-
turns to
England.¹¹ Orderic. Vital. p. 805. Chron. Saxon. p. 211.

A.D. 1104.

Norman barons, who complained bitterly of the misconduct of their own prince, and implored his protection. He received them in the kindest manner, and, by his promises and liberalities, gained them to enter into his views of depriving his unhappy brother of his dominions. He had also an interview with Robert, in which he reproached him, in very strong terms, for his errors in government, and the miseries which he had thereby brought upon his country. In this interview he obtained from him the sovereignty of the county of Evreux, and the homage of its count. Having thus humbled and weakened his brother, strengthened his own party, and paved the way for the reduction of Normandy, he returned into England ¹⁴.

A.D. 1105,
and 1106.
Expedi-
tion into
Norman-
dy.

After spending the winter in this kingdom, Henry raised an army in the spring, with which he passed over to Normandy about the end of Lent, and being joined by the Norman barons of his party, he took the field, and proceeded to hostilities, under the hypocritical pretence of defending the churches from violence, and correcting the disorders of the government ¹⁵. In this campaign he took the city of Bayeux by storm, after a long siege; and had the city of Caen surrendered to him by the inhabitants: but meeting with a vigorous resistance from the gar-

¹⁴ Orderic. Vital. p. 814.

¹⁵ Orderic. Vital. p. 816. Simeon Dunelm. col. 229. J. Brompt. col. 1001.

rison of Falaise, and winter approaching, he raised the siege, and returned into England; which was at this time grievously harassed with exactions of various kinds, to raise money for executing the king's ambitious projects ¹⁶.

A.D. 1105,
and 1106.

The unhappy duke of Normandy, conscious of his inability to defend himself against the king of England, assisted by so many of his own disaffected subjects, paid a visit to the English court this winter, in hopes of softening his brother's heart by his expostulations. But finding that these hopes were altogether groundless, he returned into Normandy, much dissatisfied with his reception, and determined to prepare for his defence ¹⁷. Henry spent the spring and part of the summer of this year in England, regulating the affairs of his kingdom, and making preparations for the total reduction of Normandy; into which he sailed about the end of July, and invested the castle of Tinchebray. The duke of Normandy, with the assistance of the earl of Mortaigne, Robert de Belesme, and some other barons, had raised a considerable army, with which he advanced to attempt the relief of that important place. This brought on a battle, September 28th, which was fought with great bravery and doubtful success for some time; but at last, by his superiority of numbers, and the valour of the English, Henry obtained a complete victory, and took his brother Robert,

A.D. 1106.
Henry
conquers
Norman-
dy.

¹⁶ Chron. Saxon. p. 212.

¹⁷ Id. p. 213.

Edgar

A.D. 1106. Edgar Atheling, and many other noble persons, prisoners¹⁸ This victory determined the fate of Normandy, and the gates of all its castles, towns, and cities, were thrown open to the conqueror. In the castle of Falaife he found William, the infant son and heir of his brother, and committed him to the custody of Helie de St. Saen, who had married a natural daughter of duke Robert. About the middle of October, Henry held an assembly of the prelates, barons, and military tenants of the duchy, at Lisieux, in which he resumed all the lands which had been granted by his brother, and made some good regulations for preventing robberies, and restoring order and good government¹⁹.

A.D. 1107. Henry having completed the conquest, and regulated the affairs of Normandy, conducted his captive brother, and other noble prisoners, into England, in the spring of this year. Determined to keep what he had acquired, he committed duke Robert, and his cousin and most powerful friend the earl of Mortaigne, to prison; nor could any intreaty ever prevail upon him to set either of them at liberty. The former, after a tedious confinement of almost twenty-eight years, died in the castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire, **A. D. 1134**²⁰. The imbecility of Edgar Athe-

Henry
commits
his brother
Robert,
&c. to
prison.

¹⁸ Simeon Dunelm. col. 230. J. Brompt. 1002. Chron. Saxon. p. 214. Orderic. Vital. p. 821.

¹⁹ Orderic. Vital. p. 822.

²⁰ Annal. Waverlien. p. 144. 151. W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 89. M. Paris, p. 43. c. 1.

ling procured him a milder fate: being set at liberty, he retired into the country; where he sunk into so great obscurity, that the time and other circumstances of his death are not preserved in history ²¹.

A. D. 1107.

Henry I. was now in the zenith of his prosperity, being in the prime of life, the richest, the most respected, and most powerful prince in Europe; and yet he was far from being happy. At some seasons he was tormented with remorse for the injuries he had done to his unhappy brother, though he was not disposed to remove that remorse by repairing those injuries, but by building abbeys, which some of our monkish historians insinuate was the most effectual way of making peace with conscience ²². His chief uneasiness, however, was occasioned by William, the infant son of Robert, who, he apprehended, might one day find friends to enable him to assert his rights, and take vengeance on him for his own and for his father's sufferings. To prevent this, and get the person of the prince within his power, he sent Robert de Beauchamp, with a body of horse, to surprise the castle of St. Saen, and seize the prince in the absence of his guardian. But this plot miscarried by the vigilance and fidelity of the servants, who fled with their precious charge, and delivered him in safety to his faithful guardian. Henry was so ungenerous as to confiscate all the estates of Helie de St. Saen; which ob-

A. D. 1108.
William,
his bro-
ther's son,
preserved
from
Henry.

²¹ W. Malmf. p. 59. col. 1.

Vol. V.

F

²² M. Paris, p. 42. col. 2.

liged

A.D. 1108.



liged that nobleman to wander from one court to another with his royal pupil, who was every where admired for the beauty of his person, and pitied for the severity of his fate²³.

A.D. 1109.

Henry's
daughter
Matilda
married.

The fame of Henry's prosperity, power, and riches, was so great, that Henry V. emperor of Germany, sent ambassadors to demand his only daughter Maude, or Matilda, a princess of eight years of age, in marriage. The treaty was soon concluded, the princess was solemnly affianced, and her marriage-portion, raised by a tax of three shillings on every hide of land in England, was paid to the ambassadors; who conducted her the year after into Germany, to be educated in the Imperial court²⁴.

A.D. 1111,
to 1113.

Henry
spends two
years in
Norman-
dy.

The effect of the intrigues of Helie de St. Saen in favour of his pupil now began to appear; and several of the neighbouring princes discovered a disposition to divest Henry of his foreign dominions, which obliged him to make a voyage to the continent for their protection²⁵. He continued in Normandy about two years, constantly engaged in wars or negotiations with the king of France and Fulk earl of Anjou, who had espoused the cause of his oppressed unhappy nephew prince William. The earl of Anjou had conceived so great an affection for that unfortunate prince, that he not only entertained him in his court, but promised to give him his daughter

²³ Orderic. Vital. p. 837, 838. ²⁴ Chron. Saxon, p. 215, 216.

²⁵ Orderic. Vital. p. 838.

Sibylla in marriage. Henry, alarmed at this, employed various means to prevent the intended match; and at last, finding all others would be ineffectual, he proposed a marriage between one of the earl's daughters and his own only son, prince William, the heir of all his dominions. This proved too strong a temptation to the earl of Anjou, who broke the contract between his daughter and William the son of Robert, on pretence of their consanguinity; and immediately contracted another of his daughters, named *Matilda*, to William the son of Henry, who stood exactly in the same relation. This contract produced a peace between Henry and the earl, which was soon after followed by a personal interview between the kings of France and England, in which all their disputes were compromised²⁶. The faithful Helie de St. Saen, seeing his pupil abandoned by his most powerful protectors, retired with him to the court of Baldwin earl of Flanders, where he was kindly received and entertained.

Henry, having dissipated the storm that threatened him in his foreign dominions, returned into England in the month of July A.D. 1113, and enjoyed an uncommon degree of tranquillity for five years, residing sometimes in England and sometimes in Normandy, as his affairs required. To secure the succession of all his dominions to his only legitimate son prince William, was the

A.D. 1112,
to 1113.

A.D. 1113,
to 1118.
Five years
of tranquillity.

²⁶ Orderic. Vital. p. 832.

A. D. 1113,
to 1119.

great object of his attention in this peaceful period. With this view he went over into Normandy in the end of September A. D. 1114, and obliged all the prelates and barons of that country to swear fealty, and do homage to his son, as his heir and successor in that duchy²⁷. He returned again into England in July A. D. 1115, and in the month of March, the year after, held a great council of all the prelates, earls, and barons, of the kingdom, at Salisbury; in which he acquainted them, that he was about to make a voyage into his foreign dominions; and not knowing what might befall him there, he required them to take an oath of fealty to his son as heir to the crown; with which requisition all the members of that assembly immediately complied²⁸. After Easter A. D. 1116, he sailed into Normandy, where he continued no less than four years²⁹.

Henry in
vain en-
deavours
to get his
brother's
son into
his hands.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, Henry was still jealous and apprehensive that his nephew William might one day dispute the possession of his dominions with himself, or the succession to them with his son; to prevent which, he endeavoured to entice him to his court, by promising to give him three earldoms in England, and to educate him with as much care and tenderness as his own son. But that young

²⁷ Chron. Saxon. p. 218. M. Paris, p. 45. col. 2. Hen. Hunt. p. 218. col. 1. R. Hoveden, p. 271.

²⁸ Eadmer. l. 5. p. 117. Chron. de Mailros, p. 164.

²⁹ Chron. Saxon. p. 220, &c.

prince

prince did not think it safe or decent to put himself into the hands of an uncle who had supplanted his father in the throne of England, deprived him of the duchy of Normandy, and still detained him in prison ³⁰.

A. D. 1113,
to 1118.

The prosperity which Henry had for some time past enjoyed now began to be interrupted, and was succeeded by a train of very great calamities. On the first of May this year he lost his amiable and virtuous consort queen Matilda, and Robert earl of Mellent, his chief confident and most faithful friend, died on the 9th of June ³¹. About the same time several circumstances concurred to excite a great number, both of foreign and domestic enemies, to conspire against him, and attempt his ruin. He had secretly assisted his nephew Theobald earl of Blois, in a revolt against his sovereign, Louis the Gros king of France; which so much irritated that monarch, that he openly espoused the cause of William, the son of the captive duke Robert, and also prevailed upon the two potent princes, Baldwin earl of Flanders, and Fulk earl of Anjou, to declare in his favour ³². This formidable alliance against Henry was much strengthened by the accession of Amaure de Montfort, the earls of Ew and Aumale, and many other Norman barons; who having been disoblged by *him*, or obliged by his *brother*, embraced the party of his nephew

A. D. 1118,
and 1119.

Confederacy
against
Henry.

³⁰ Orderic. Vital. p. 866.

³¹ Id. p. 843.

³² Id. l. 12. p. 842.

A.D. 1118,
and 1119.

William³³. In a word, the disaffection of the Norman nobles became so general, that he knew not whom to trust. Even Eustace earl of Breteuil, his own son-in-law, who had married Juliana, one of his natural daughters, joined the confederates³⁴. Besides all these open enemies, he was surrounded by secret traitors, who betrayed his secrets and formed plots against his life, on which a desperate attempt was made by his own daughter Juliana countess of Breteuil, who discharged an arrow out of a cross-bow at her father's breast³⁵.

The confederacy
defeated.

In the midst of all these dangers and difficulties Henry did not lose his courage or presence of mind. He preserved himself from his secret enemies, by sleeping in his armour with his sword and shield by his side, and a guard of his most faithful servants watching in his apartment³⁶. At the beginning of the war, seeing himself unequal to his enemies in the field, he wisely kept on the defensive, waiting for some favourable events, and endeavouring to divide the confederates by his intrigues. Nor was it long before some favourable events happened; and his intrigues began to operate. Baldwin earl of Flanders, who was one of the bravest, most powerful, and inveterate of his enemies, received a mortal wound in a skirmish, of which he soon after died³⁷. He detached the earl of

³³ Orderic. Vital. l. 12. p. 843.

³⁴ Id. *ibid.* p. 848.

³⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 846. 848. ³⁶ Segur, in Vit. Lud. Grossi, p. 308.

³⁷ Orderic. Vital. p. 843.

A.D. 1118,
and 1119.

Anjou from the confederacy, by solemnizing the marriage between his son prince William and the earl's daughter, in the month of June A.D. 1119; the delay of which had been the cause of his discontent³⁸. He gained over almost all the Norman barons who had revolted, by granting them every thing they desired; and the king of France saw himself deserted by all his allies. The contest being now more equal, Henry boldly took the field; and hearing that the French had formed the design of surprising the castle of Noyon, near Andeley, he marched towards that place, at the head of a body of five hundred horse, and met the king of France on the plain of Brenneville, near the castle which he intended to surprise, at the head of four hundred of the same kind of troops, 20th August. A fierce encounter immediately ensued, in which prince William, son of duke Robert, who led the vanguard of the French, displayed great valour, broke the first ranks, and penetrated to his uncle, who received two blows on the head from William Crispin, a valiant knight, and was only saved by the goodness of his helmet. The French did not second the first attack with equal bravery. The party who made it were almost all taken prisoners; and prince William, who commanded it, being unhorsed, made his escape with much difficulty. The King of France, observing this disaster, and dreading to fall into

³⁸ Orderic. Vital. p. 851.

A. D. 1118,
and 1119.

the hands of his enemy, fled with great precipitation to Andeley, where he arrived under the conduct of a peasant, having lost his way in a wood, and been separated from all his troops. This battle was more famous for the quality of the combatants (two kings, two princes, and many noblemen of the first rank being engaged in it), than for the slaughter, as only three knights were killed. This was owing to their being clad in complete armour, and more intent on taking prisoners to enrich themselves with their ransom, than on shedding blood³⁹. Not long after this battle, the pope, Calixtus II. coming into France, mediated a peace between the two monarchs, which was concluded in the beginning of the next year on these conditions:—That all the castles that had been taken on both sides should be restored; and all prisoners set at liberty⁴⁰.

A. D. 1120.
Prince
William
drowned
in return-
ing from
Norman-
dy.

Henry spent the greatest part of this year in Normandy, extinguishing every spark of disaffection, and securing still farther the succession of his beloved son (about which he was exceedingly anxious), by making the nobility renew their oaths of fealty to him as his successor⁴¹. He invited such of the Norman barons as had adhered to him in his late distress to accompany him into England, to receive the rewards of their fidelity; which greatly swelled his train, as well

³⁹ Orderic. Vital. p. 853, 854, 855.

⁴⁰ Id. *ibid*.

⁴¹ W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 93.

as occasioned some delay. At length all things being in readiness for the voyage, the king embarked at Barfleur, 25th November, towards evening, and sailed for the English coast, where he arrived the next morning. One of the finest vessels in the fleet, called *the White Ship*, was allotted for prince William and his retinue, which was very numerous, consisting of all the young nobility. • The prince being detained a little after his father, ordered three casks of wine to be given to his ship's crew, with which they made too free, and were many of them intoxicated when they sailed about the close of day. Thomas Fitz-Stephen, the commander, having promised to the prince to overtake the rest of the fleet, crowded all his sails, as well as plied his oars. But when the ship was passing through the water with great velocity, she suddenly struck upon a rock, called *the Catte-raze*, with such violence, that she started several planks, and almost over-set. In a moment all was terror, uproar, and confusion. The boat was immediately let down, the prince and some of the prime nobility put into it; and having got clear of the ship, might have reached the shore, which was at no great distance. But the prince was so much affected with the shrieks of his natural sister the countess of Perche, that he commanded the boat to put back to take her in, and save her life. As soon as the boat approached the ship, where despair had destroyed all distinctions of rank, such multitudes

A. D. 1120.

titudes poured into it, that it instantly sunk, and all on board it perished. In a word, of three hundred persons on board this ship, of which about fifty were sailors, eighteen were ladies of the first rank, the rest, besides the prince, and his natural brother Richard, were young noblemen and gentlemen and their necessary attendants, only one man escaped with life, to describe this mournful scene. This was one Bertoud a butcher of Rouen, who being a strong man, and warmly clothed, climbed to the top of the mast, which enabled him to keep his head above water; where he continued all night, and was taken up next morning by some fishermen. The report of this deplorable disaster reached England the day after, but was carefully concealed from Henry for three days, who was all that time in a state of the most tormenting anxiety about the safety of his darling son. At length, when the secret could be no longer kept, and none of the courtiers would consent to be the messenger of such ill news, a boy, properly instructed, came in all in tears, and falling at the king's feet, told him in few words, that the prince, and all on board the White Ship, were lost. The stout-hearted Henry was so thunder-struck with this dreadful news, that he staggered, sunk on the floor, and fainted away; in which state he continued a considerable time. When he recovered from his faint, he broke out into the bitterest lamentations, describing the good qualities and great actions of his

his two sons, and of the young nobles who had perished with them⁴².

A. D. 1120.

When Henry had given vent to the violence of his grief, he gradually resumed his usual fortitude, and applied to business with his wonted ardour. The death of so many great personages, who perished with his son, put it in his power to reward his surviving friends beyond their expectations, by putting some of them into vacant offices, and marrying others to rich heiresses or wealthy widows⁴³. But his chief concern was about an heir to his dominions; as his only legitimate daughter, Maude the empress, was in a distant country; and the want of an apparent heir might revive the hopes of his nephew William, of whom he was always jealous, and might give occasion to revolts. To prevent these inconveniencies, he resolved to enter into a second marriage, and executed that resolution with so much celerity, that he was married at Windsor, 29th January A. D. 1121, to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey earl of Lovaine, a lady of great beauty, who was solemnly crowned queen the day after in the same place⁴⁴. But this marriage proving unfruitful, did not answer his expectations, nor prevent the mischiefs which he apprehended.

A. D. 1121.

Henry's second marriage.

Though Henry had reduced his foreign dominions to a state of great tranquillity and subjection in his late expedition, they did not continue

A. D. 1122, to 1126.

Confederacy against Henry defeated.


⁴² Orderic. Vital. p. 868, 869, 870. W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 94. col. 1. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 219. col. 1. R. Hoveden. p. 273.

⁴³ Orderic. Vital. p. 870.

⁴⁴ Radmer. l. 6. p. 126, 127.

long

A.D. 1121.
to 1126.



long in that condition. The Norman barons, being freed from their oaths of fealty to a successor, by the death of the prince to whom they had been given, began to cast their eyes towards William the son of Robert (whom they always loved and pitied), and to form plots in his favour. Some of those in whom Henry reposed the greatest confidence, and on whom he had bestowed the greatest favours, joined in this conspiracy; particularly Gualeran earl of Mellent; and his brother Robert, the sons of the late earl of Mellent, his greatest favourite. The conspirators were much encouraged by the accession of Fulk earl of Anjou, who once more embraced the interest of the unfortunate William, and renewed the contract of marriage between him and his daughter Sibylla. This conspiracy was conducted with great secrecy for some time; but at length it was discovered by the king of England; who acted on this occasion with his usual spirit, and was attended with his usual good fortune. Having appointed Roger bishop of Salisbury regent of the kingdom, he sailed from Portsmouth on the week after Whitsuntide A. D. 1123, with a considerable fleet and army, arrived safe in Normandy; and falling upon the conspirators before their plot was ripe for execution, he took several of their castles, and gained other advantages. On the 25th March A. D. 1124, William de Tancarville, the king's chamberlain, had the good fortune to surprise the earl of Mellent, Robert his brother, the earl of Evreux, and

and almost all the chief conspirators, as they were riding carelessly between Beaumont and Vatteville, and took them all prisoners. This turned the scale entirely in favour of the king; and all the other barons who had been concerned in the revolt, hastened to make their peace with him on the best terms they could procure. The earl of Anjou, seeing his confederates crushed, was also reconciled to him, consenting to the dissolution of the contract between prince William and his daughter; who though they had been twice contracted, were never married. That ever-unfortunate prince, beholding all his expectations blasted, returned again to the court of France; where he was soon after married to the queen's sister, and received with her the countries of Pontoise, Chaumont, Mante, and Vexin François, which enabled him to make some feeble attempts upon Normandy, and obliged the king to continue some time longer abroad for its defence⁴⁵.

A. D. 1121,
to 1126.

While Henry resided in Normandy, his son-in-law, the emperor Henry V. died, and his widow (having had no children) returned to her father's court, and was conducted by him into England, a little before Michaelmas A. D. 1126. As there was now little probability of his having any children by his present queen: the empress, of whom he had been always very fond, became

A. D. 1126.
The em-
press
Maude de-
clared
heir to
Henry.

⁴⁵ Orderic. Vital. p. 876—884. Chron. Saxon. p. 223—230. M. Paris, p. 47, 48.

the .

A. D. 1126.

the object of all his hopes and cares; and he was ardently desirous of securing to her the succession of his dominions. With this view, he held a great council of all the prelates and nobles of the kingdom at Christmas, and engaged them to swear fealty to his daughter, as his successor, in case he should happen to die without a legitimate son, or sons; and his nephew Stephen, who afterwards usurped the crown, was the first of the laity (except the king of Scotland) who swore on this occasion ⁴⁶.

A. D. 1127.

The empress contracted to the eldest son of the earl of Anjou.

In the spring of this year the king of England received the disagreeable news of the murder of his friend Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, and of the succession of William his elder brother's son to that great earldom. Though Henry was a prince of uncommon fortitude, there were two persons whom he always dreaded; his nephew William, on account of the justice of his pretensions to his dominions, and Fulk earl of Anjou, on account of his power, and vicinity to Normandy. He had been at infinite pains to prevent an intimate connection between these two princes; and now that he more than ever dreaded their union, in order to prevent it effectually, he proposed a marriage between his only legitimate child, the empress Maude, and Geoffrey the earl's eldest son. This advantageous proposal was joyfully embraced both by the earl and his son: the empress was sent over to Normandy,

⁴⁶ W. Malmf. Historiæ Novellæ, l. 1.

under the conduct of Robert earl of Glocester, in the summer of this year, and the king arrived in the same country on 26th August following⁴⁷.

A. D. 1127.

All preliminaries being settled, the nuptials of the empress with Geoffrey Martel prince of Anjou, were celebrated with great magnificence at Rouen, on the octaves of Whitsuntide, in the presence of the king of England and the earl of Anjou. Henry, among other arts which he had employed to distress his unhappy nephew, and put it out of his power to assert his right to his dominions, had stirred up Thierry landgrave of Alsace to lay claim to the earldom of Flanders. This occasioned a war between these two princes, in which William was victorious; but in a trifling skirmish, he received a wound in the hand, which brought on a mortification, of which he died in the abbey of St. Bertin, July 27th. In his last moments he wrote a letter to his uncle Henry, begging his pardon for all the trouble he had given him, and earnestly intreating his favour for his faithful guardian Helie de St. Saen, and a few other friends who had adhered to him in all his fortunes⁴⁸. The death of this brave and amiable prince, who had struggled with adversity from his cradle to his grave, put an end to all the fears and dangers of his ambi-

A. D. 1128.
Death of
prince
William
Henry's
nephew.

⁴⁷ Chron. Saxon. p. 230. W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. Hen. Hunt. l. 7.

⁴⁸ Orderic. Vital p. 885, 886. M. Paris, p. 49, col. 1. W. Gemitter, l. 7. c. 16.

tious

A. D. 1128.

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A. D. 1129,

to 1136.

Henry's  
death.

tious uncle, who thenceforward enjoyed a profound peace.

Henry having spent the former part of this year in Normandy, in receiving the submissions of the barons who had revolted, and restoring them to their estates, came over to England in harvest, and resided here about a year in great tranquillity. The empress Maude being now the great object of his affection, he made a voyage to the continent about Michaelmas A. D. 1130, to pay her a visit; and that he might enjoy the pleasure of her company, in which he very much delighted, he brought her with him into England at Midsummer A. D. 1131, and held a great council of the prelates and nobility in September, at Northampton, where he engaged them all to renew their oaths of fealty to her as his successor in the throne<sup>49</sup>. Soon after this, the empress returned to her husband, and Henry remained in England all this and the succeeding year. The unfruitfulness of his daughter's marriage had for some time been his chief uneasiness, and this was at last removed by the agreeable news of her being delivered of a son, at Le Mans, in March A. D. 1133. Transported with joy at this event, he celebrated his Easter with great festivity at Oxford, where all the nobility swore fealty once more to the empress, and also to her infant son named Henry<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 235, 236. Annal. Waverlien. p. 150, 151.

<sup>50</sup> Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 444. R. de Diceto, col. 55.

Being

Ch. i. § 2. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

81

Being desirous to embrace his daughter, now more endeared to him than ever, he set sail for Normandy 7th August; from whence he never returned into this kingdom, though he survived three years and some months. The empress was delivered of a second son A. D. 1134, and of a third the year after; and the aged king became so doatingly fond of his daughter and her children, that he could not leave them, though he was much displeased with the impatient ambition of his son-in-law. At last, having spent the day, November 25th, in hunting in the forest of Lyons, and supped plentifully that evening on lampreys, his favourite dish, he was seized with a fever in the night, of which he died on Sunday, December 1st, A. D. 1135, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign<sup>51</sup>.

A. D. 1129,  
to 1136.

Henry I. was in his person of middle stature, strong and well made, his hair brown and bushy, his eyes serene, and his countenance agreeable. He had excellent natural parts, improved by a learned education, which procured him the surname of *Beauclerc*, or *the Fine scholar*, and made him very famous for his eloquence. In his humour he was facetious, and in his deportment affable. He was unquestionably the greatest general and wisest politician of the age in which he flourished, and to this he was much indebted for

His character.

<sup>51</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 237. Orderic. Vital. p. 901. W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. M. Paris, p. 50.

A.D. 1128. tious  
foun

A.D. 1129,  
to 1136.

Henry's  
death.

Stephen  
son of  
Matilda  
usurps the  
crown.

His most commend-  
able affection for his  
—diligence,—activity,—  
the administration of justice,  
degenerated sometimes into  
the greatest vices were his lewdness,  
and ambition: which were all excessive;  
from the number of his natural chil-  
dren, of which he had six sons and seven daugh-  
ters;—from his oppressive taxes, and great trea-  
sures;—and from his usurping the kingdom of  
England and duchy of Normandy<sup>52</sup>.

Henry, in the last years of his life, had been  
at great pains to secure the succession of his do-  
minions to his only legitimate daughter Maude  
the empress, and her children. With this view  
he had engaged all the prelates, nobles, and  
great men, of England and of Normandy, to  
take solemn and repeated oaths to maintain that  
succession; and they had done this with the  
greatest appearance of cheerfulness and cor-  
diality, especially after the death of prince Wil-  
liam, his eldest brother's son. But all these  
precautions were in vain. This was the age of  
successful usurpations. No sooner was Henry's  
death made known, than a bold usurper started  
up, who, to the astonishment of all the world,  
in violation of every right,—of his own most  
solemn oaths,—and of the strongest ties of gra-  
titude, mounted the empty throne, and seized

<sup>52</sup> W. Malmf. l. 5. Orderic. Vital. l. 12, 13. W. Gemeticen, l. 7.



the crown. This was Stephen earl of Boulogne, second surviving son of Stephen earl of Blois, and of Adela daughter of William the Conqueror. He was indeed one of the nephews of Henry I. but had no shadow of right to his succession while his daughter Maude, her three sons, and his own elder brother Theobald earl of Blois, were alive. He had professed himself so zealous an assertor of the rights of the empress Maude, that he had a violent contest with the king's natural son Robert earl of Gloucester, for the honour of being the first of the laity in taking the oath to support the succession of that princess to the throne<sup>53</sup>. Being a younger son of no very opulent family, he had been indebted for all his wealth and power to the munificence of his uncle Henry, who had given him the earldom of Mortaigne in Normandy, the forfeited estate of Robert Mallet in this kingdom, and at last procured him the marriage of his niece, the princess Matilda, the only child of Mary of Scotland, his queen's sister, and of Eustace earl of Boulogne, in whose right he enjoyed that earldom, and all the great estates of the family in England<sup>54</sup>. But ambition rendered Stephen regardless of all obligations, as well as blind to all the dangers and difficulties of gaining and keeping a crown to which he had no title. The improbability and impudence of

A. D. 1129,  
to 1136.

<sup>53</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. <sup>54</sup> W. Gemiscen, l. 7. c. 34.

A. D. 1129,  
to 1136.

his attempt contributed not a little to its success<sup>55</sup>.

Stephen's  
corona-  
tion.

Stephen was at Boulogne when he heard of his uncle's death, and from thence he hastened into England. When he arrived at Dover, the inhabitants, suspecting his intention, shut their gates against him, and he met with a similar repulse at Canterbury. Not discouraged with these unfavourable beginnings, he proceeded to London; where he was received by the lower kind of citizens, among whom he was very popular, with the loudest acclamations<sup>56</sup>. There were two persons in England at this time without whose consent it was hardly possible for any one to mount the throne. These were, William Corboil archbishop of Canterbury, and Roger bishop of Salisbury, chief justiciary and regent of the kingdom. Though both these men had been raised by Henry to the highest honours, and had been the most forward in taking the oaths of fealty to his daughter Maude; yet Stephen gained them to embrace his interest, by the assistance of his brother Henry bishop of Winchester, and by artfully adapting his temptations to their tempers. William was a conscientious, but a weak and credulous man; and therefore he made one of his creatures, Hugh Bigod, to take a solemn oath before him, that he had

<sup>55</sup> Annal. Waverlien. p. 152.

<sup>56</sup> Gestæ Regis Stephani, apud Duchon, p. 928.

heard

heard the late king, on his death-bed, disinherit his daughter Maude, absolve his subjects from their oaths, and declare earl Stephen his successor<sup>57</sup>. A most impudent and shameless perjury! For Henry, with his last breath, had appointed his daughter to succeed him in all his dominions in the hearing of five earls and many other nobles<sup>58</sup>. To the bishop of Salisbury, whose avarice and ambition were insatiable, he promised every thing he chose to ask for himself or his friends, without any intention to perform what he promised<sup>59</sup>. Having by these arts gained these two great prelates, he was solemnly crowned and anointed king at Westminster, by the archbishop, on December 22d. At this ceremony there were only two other bishops, those of Winchester and Salisbury, not one abbot, and but very few of the secular barons present<sup>60</sup>. By the assistance also of his brother, Henry of Winchester, he got possession of the late king's treasures in that city, consisting of one hundred thousand pounds in money, besides plate and jewels to an immense value. With this treasure he bribed many of the clergy and nobility to violate their oaths, and come over to his party, and took into his pay an army of soldiers of fortune, with which all the countries of Europe abounded at that time<sup>61</sup>.

A. D. 1129,  
to 1136.

<sup>57</sup> M. Paris, p. 51. *Gesta R. Stephan.* p. 929.

<sup>58</sup> W. Malmf. *Hist. Novel.* l. 1.

<sup>60</sup> *Id. ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Id. ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Id. ibid.* p. 101.

A. D. 1136.

Stephen's  
arts of po-  
pularity.

The friends of the empress Maude were so astonished at this unexpected revolution, that they remained silent and motionless, being destitute of a head or leader. For the empress, and her husband Geoffrey Plantagenet, were in Anjou; and Robert earl of Glocester, the late king's natural son, the most virtuous, wise, and powerful nobleman of their party, was in Normandy, executing some parts of his father's last will. These circumstances gave Stephen an opportunity of increasing the number of his adherents, which he improved to the best advantage. He had sworn at his coronation whatever the prelates and nobles who were present pleased to dictate, and confirmed what he had sworn by a charter, which he ratified and enlarged in a great council held at Oxford in the beginning of this year, which gained him many friends<sup>62</sup>. He permitted the clergy to annex this condition to their oaths of fealty, "That they would keep their oaths as long as the king supported the vigour of discipline;" or, in other words, as long as he allowed them to rule as they pleased; and he obtained a confirmation of his election from the pope; which two things brought over all the clergy to his side<sup>63</sup>. To the secular nobility he denied nothing that they pleased to ask; and in particular, allowed them all to fortify their castles. A most pernicious grant, which was productive of infinite mischiefs to the coun-

<sup>62</sup> W. Hemingford, c. 57.

<sup>63</sup> R. Hagulfad, p. 313, 314.

try! With the common people, and with the lower citizens of London, he ingratiated himself by his condescending deportment, and a certain jocular humour, very pleasing to them, and of incredible advantage to him on this occasion<sup>64</sup>.

A.D. 1136.

But, notwithstanding all these arts, this daring usurpation involved the author of it, his friends, his family, and his country, in many great calamities.

David king of Scotland was the first who appeared to support the cause of the empress his niece, by entering England with an army, in vindication of her rights. He took Carlisle and Newcastle, and over-run the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland; but being joined by a few of the English barons, he entered into a negotiation with Stephen, who had arrived in the north at the head of an army in the beginning of Lent. This negotiation terminated in a peace, by which Stephen ceded the county of Cumberland and city of Carlisle to the king of Scots, granted the earldom of Huntingdon to prince Henry his eldest son, and promised not to dispose of the earldom of Northumberland till he had examined the pretensions of that prince, who claimed it as grandson and heir of Waltheof, the last Anglo-Saxon earl<sup>65</sup>.

Stephen makes peace with David king of Scotland.

Robert earl of Gloucester spent the first part of this year in Normandy in a state of great per-

Earl of Gloucester submits to Stephen.

<sup>64</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. p. 102, col. 2.

<sup>65</sup> W. Hemingford, c. 52.

A.D. 1136.

plexity. He was firmly attached to the interests of his sister Maude, by inclination as well as by his oaths; but he soon became sensible, that unless he submitted, in appearance at least, to Stephen, he must relinquish all his great estates in England, and with them his power of promoting the cause which he had so much at heart. After long deliberation, he complied with Stephen's invitation, came over to England at Easter, and took the oath of fealty; but with this remarkable condition annexed, "That he should be no longer bound to keep this oath than the king kept all his engagements to him, and maintained him in all his rights and liberties"<sup>66</sup>:" a condition (says a cotemporary historian) which he well knew the king would not long observe<sup>67</sup>.

A.D. 1137.  
Stephen  
obtains  
Norman-  
dy.

The empress and her husband were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. This was partly owing to the hereditary hatred which had long subsisted between the Normans and Anjouvines, and partly to the desire of the Norman barons to be under the same sovereign with the English, that they might enjoy their estates in England. As soon therefore as these barons heard that Stephen had taken possession of the throne of England, they invited him to come over, and assume the sovereignty of their duchy. After the pacification with the king of Scots, and the submission of the earl of Gloucester, he

<sup>66</sup> M. Paris, p. 51.

<sup>67</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 1. p. 102. col. 1.

found himself at liberty to comply with that invitation, and made a voyage into Normandy about the middle of Lent this year<sup>68</sup>. Soon after his arrival in that country, he had an interview with Louis le Jeune king of France; with whom he formed an alliance, by contracting his son prince Eustace to the princess Constantia the sister of that king, who granted the investiture of Normandy to his future brother-in-law. Stephen spent the rest of this summer in opposing the attempts of Geoffrey of Anjou, who had invaded Normandy, and at last concluded a truce with that prince for two years, engaging to pay him an annuity of five thousand marks,

A.D. 1137.

After this king Stephen employed his forces in reducing some castles, which were the haunts of robbers; but was much retarded in his progress by the violent animosities that arose between his Norman forces and the mercenary troops he had brought with him out of England under the command of William d'Ypres, a famous adventurer of those times; who also engaged him in another affair, in which he acquired no honour<sup>69</sup>. Robert earl of Gloucester had remained about a year in England, endeavouring with great art, and the most impenetrable secrecy, to form a party among the nobility in favour of the empress; and then sailed into Normandy to prosecute the same design. William d'Ypres

Stephen  
miscarries  
in his de-  
sign to  
seize the  
earl of  
Gloucester.

<sup>68</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222.<sup>69</sup> Orderic. Vital. p. 909, 910.

advised

**A.D. 1137.** advised Stephen, who suspected that the earl was engaged in such intrigues, to seize his person, and formed a plot for that purpose. But Robert having received a hint of this plot, kept at a distance from the court, though often invited, which convinced the king that his design was discovered. Dreading a rupture with the earl at this time, whose power and popularity he well knew, with much difficulty he procured an interview, in which he made many apologies for what was past, and took a solemn oath, in the presence of the archbishop of Rouen, "That he would never again form any design against the person or liberty of the earl." Robert affected to be satisfied; but knew Stephen too well to repose any confidence in his oaths<sup>70</sup>.

**A.D. 1138.**  
War with  
Scotland.

King Stephen, without having been able to compose the disorders in Normandy, found it absolutely necessary to return to England, where all things were falling into confusion. David king of Scots had invaded Northumberland, to which his son prince Henry had a claim; but being a pious prince, and much under the influence of the clergy, he was prevailed upon, by Thurstin archbishop of York, to delay the prosecution of his son's pretensions till the king's return<sup>71</sup>. Stephen rejected the demands of the Scotch ambassadors; at which David was so much offended, that he entered Northumber-

<sup>70</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 102.

<sup>71</sup> R. Hagulfad, sub. ann. 1137.



land in the beginning of this year, with an army, which committed the most cruel ravages, burning all the towns, villages, and churches, and sparing neither men, women, nor children. These cruelties were chiefly perpetrated by the Gallowideans, who were too ferocious to submit to discipline. The king of England hearing of these devastations, marched into the north at the head of a great army, and, upon the Scots retiring, pursued them as far as Roxburgh. While the two armies lay facing each other near that place, Stephen discovered such symptoms of disaffection among his own troops, that he did not think it prudent to risk a battle, but returned into the south, where his affairs had taken an unfavourable turn<sup>72</sup>.

A. D. 1138.

Robert earl of Gloucester had never been satisfied in his own mind with the oath of fealty that he had taken to Stephen; and having consulted many clergymen, and even the pope himself; and they having all declared, that he was bound to observe the former oath that he had taken to his sister the empress; he sent a message from Normandy to king Stephen, at Whitsuntide this year, recalling his homage, and renouncing his allegiance to that king, both on account of his former oath, and on account of Stephen's having violated the condition annexed to his oath of fealty<sup>73</sup>. This was a signal to

Confederacy against Stephen.

<sup>72</sup> R. Hagulfan, sub. ann. 1138. Ailred. Hist. Bell. Standardi, p. 318, &c.

<sup>73</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. i. p. 102.

those

A. D. 1138.

those English barons, who, in concert with the earl of Gloucester, had resolved to raise the empress to the throne; and many of them retired to their castles, and prepared for the execution of that design. Stephen on this occasion displayed great activity and courage; and in the course of this year he was so fortunate as to take several of these castles, and either punished their owners, or obliged them to return to his obedience<sup>74</sup>.

Battle of  
the Stand-  
ard.

While he was thus engaged in the south, the Scots invaded Northumberland, and penetrated as far as North Allarton, where the famous battle of the Standard was fought August 22d, between them, and an army raised by William earl of Albemarle, Walter Espec, Roger Mowbray, Robert de Bruce, Bernard de Baliol, William de Percy, Robert de Ferrers, and other northern barons; in which the Scots were defeated with considerable loss<sup>75</sup>. King David having collected his scattered forces at Carlisle, returned to the siege of Werk castle, which he reduced by famine. Alberic bishop of Ostia, the pope's legate in England, waited upon the king of Scotland, at Carlisle about Michaelmas, and endeavoured to bring about a peace between the two British monarchs; but without effect. This, however, was accomplished a few months after, by the more powerful mediation of queen Maude,

<sup>74</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222.

<sup>75</sup> This was called *The battle of the Standard*, from a remarkable standard erected on a wheel-machine in the centre of the English army.

wife

wife of king Stephen, and niece of king David, who, in an interview with her uncle at Durham, concluded a peace, on these terms:—That the earldom of Northumberland should be granted to Henry prince of Scotland; in return for which he and his father should live in peace with Stephen, and not assist his enemies<sup>76</sup>. After this peace prince Henry accompanied his cousin queen Maude to the English court.

A.D. 1138.

King Stephen had been so successful in the last campaign, that he might perhaps have triumphed over all his enemies, and prevented the future calamities of his reign, if he had not quarrelled with the clergy. Sensible of his imprudence in granting liberty to his nobles of fortifying their castles, of which grant the clergy had also availed themselves, he became earnestly desirous of getting some of the strongest of these castles into his own possession. Roger bishop of Salisbury, who had long been prime minister to Henry I. and high justiciary of the kingdom, had built several strong castles; particularly one at the Devises, that was esteemed the most beautiful and magnificent fortress then in Europe<sup>77</sup>. Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Nigell bishop of Ely, his two nephews, and his natural son Roger, who was chancellor of England, had also fortified their castles. The king, resolving to begin his operations with this powerful family, which

A.D. 1139.  
Stephen's  
quarrel  
with the  
bishops.

<sup>76</sup> R. Hagulfstad, p. 320, &c. Ailred. de Bell. Standard. p. 330, &c.

<sup>77</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 223.

A. D. 1139.

he suspected of disaffection, invited them to a great council of the nobility at Oxford, June 24th; and they with some doubt and hesitation obeyed the summons. At their arrival in Oxford a quarrel happened, or, as some cotemporary historians affirm, was designedly raised, between the servants of Alan earl of Brittany, and those of bishop Roger, about their lodgings, in which many persons were wounded, and one knight was killed. The king affected to be highly incensed at this breach of the peace within the verge of his court, and commanded the bishop, and all his friends to be apprehended. The bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, with the chancellor, were seized; but the bishop of Ely, lodging without the town, made his escape, and fled to his uncle's castle of the Devizes, which he determined to defend. When the bishops and the chancellor were brought before the king, they were commanded to surrender all their castles, as an atonement for their offence. They professed themselves willing to make any reasonable compensation; but refused to deliver up their houses. Upon this the king's great confident, and executioner of all his violent measures, William d'Ypres, was sent with his mercenaries to besiege the castle of the Devizes, carrying with him the bishop of Salisbury, its owner, a prisoner, and his son the chancellor, in chains. When he came before the castle, he summoned the bishop of Ely to surrender; threatening, that if he did not, he would starve his uncle to death.

When

When this had no effect, he sent a message to Maude of Ramsey, the bishop's concubine, and the chancellor's mother, who was in the castle, "that if it was not immediately delivered up, he would hang her son before her eyes." Knowing the sanguinary nature of the man, and trembling for the fate of a beloved son, she persuaded the commander to surrender this impregnable fortress; in which was found no less than forty thousand marks of the bishop's treasure, which was seized by the king. The bishop of Lincoln was carried in the same manner before his castles of Newark and Sliford, and prevailed upon their commanders to surrender them, in order to preserve him from being starved to death. When the king had got all their castles and treasures into his hands, the bishops and chancellor were set at liberty; but the old bishop of Sarum was so much affected with this sad reverse of fortune, that he died soon after of a broken heart<sup>78</sup>.

These rash and violent proceedings, against persons of the greatest dignity in church and state, made a prodigious noise. The clergy universally took the alarm, and cried out, that the church and religion were on the brink of ruin. The king's own brother, Henry bishop of Winchester, the pope's legate in England, having for some time past been discontented, embraced

Stephen summoned to appear before a council of the clergy.

<sup>78</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 103. Orderic. Vital. p. 919, 920. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 944, 945. Hen. Hunt. l. 3. p. 223. R. Hoveden, ad ann. 1139.

this

A. D. 1139.

this opportunity of gratifying his resentment. By virtue of his legatine commission he called a council of the clergy to meet at Winchester, August 30th; and boldly summoned the king to appear before them to answer for his conduct. Stephen did not stoop so low as to appear in person; but he sent some of his chief nobility to demand the reason of his being summoned; with Aubrey de Vere, an eloquent lawyer, to plead his cause. The legate opened the council with a most inflammatory speech, painting the injustice, violence, and cruelty, of the king's proceedings against the bishops in the blackest colours; and concluded with this declaration,—“ That neither  
“ the fear of losing his brother's favour, nor  
“ even of losing his own life, should deter him  
“ from putting their sentence, whatever it should  
“ be, in execution.” The king's orator aggravated the insolence of the bishops, and the circumstances of the riot at Oxford, as much as possible; and pretended, that they had voluntarily surrendered their castles and treasures to the king to atone for their offences. On the second day of the council, the archbishop of Rouen, the only clergyman who espoused the king's cause, made a still better defence; affirming, that the bishops had merited all they had suffered for transgressing the canons of the church, by fortifying their castles, and acting in a military capacity. But all this would not have prevented a sentence of excommunication against the king, and all who had been concerned in the late  
trans-

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27

transactions, if some of the nobles had not laid their hands on their swords, and put the members of the council in fear; and if Aubrey de Vere had not taken the dangerous and humiliating step of appealing to the pope in the king's name. This put a stop to all further proceedings, and the council broke up September 1st<sup>79</sup>. A.D. 1139.

When the nation was in this ferment, the empress Maude landed in England, September 30th; and was received, with her brother Robert earl of Gloucester, and her retinue, consisting only of an hundred and forty knights, into Arundel castle, by her stepmother Adelais, the queen-dowager. The earl of Gloucester, leaving the empress in this strong castle, set out with only twelve knights in his company, and travelling through by-ways, with great caution, arrived safe at Bristol, without being discovered. As soon as king Stephen, who was besieging Marlborough, heard of the landing of his competitor for the crown, he marched with great expedition, and invested the castle where she had taken shelter. The queen-dowager, dreading his resentment, sent him an apology for having admitted the empress into her castle, which, she said, she could not deny to the only daughter of her late husband king Henry; intreated him to respect the ties of blood, and the sacred laws of hospitality, and allow the empress to retire to

<sup>79</sup> R. Hagulfad, p. 337. Gervas, Chron. p. 1347; 1348. W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 103, 104.

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her brother's castle of Bristol. This strange request was seconded by the king's brother, Henry bishop of Winchester; and, to the surprise of all the world, Maude was honourably escorted by that prelate, and by Walleran earl of Mellent, her greatest enemy, and Stephen's greatest confidant, and safely delivered to her brother the earl of Gloucester. This, it must be confessed, is a most astonishing event, and, like some other things in the story of this reign, hath more the appearance of romance than of real history. That Stephen should conduct his rival to the only place where she could do him hurt; that Maude should trust her person in the hands of her greatest enemies; and that they should faithfully discharge their trust, are all equally incredible; but so well attested by contemporary historians, that their truth can hardly be doubted<sup>80</sup>. We shall endeavour to account for this in another place<sup>81</sup>. The empress was conducted by her brother to his castle of Gloucester; where she resided a considerable time, at the expence and under the protection of Milo, governor of that castle, one of the richest and most powerful noblemen of those parts<sup>82</sup>.

A.D. 1140.

A most calamitous year.

The year 1140 was one of the most calamitous that had ever been seen in England. War, in its most horrid forms, raged from one end of the kingdom to the other; and the whole nation was

<sup>80</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel l. 2. p. 103, 104. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 223. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 9+6.

<sup>81</sup> See chap. 7.

<sup>82</sup> Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 648.

inflamed



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inflamed with more than civil fury. Not only the great barons, but all the petty lords of castles, of which there were several hundreds in the kingdom, declared for the king or for the empress, and made cruel war on those of the opposite party with whom they were intermixed. Many of these castles were no better than dens of robbers, or, as the author of the Saxon Chronicle calls them, devils, who sallied forth, and plundered and murdered all parties without distinction. The smoke of burning towns, villages, monasteries, and churches, was every where to be seen. Commerce ceased; and even agriculture was in many places discontinued; which brought on a dreadful famine, by which many thousands perished. Though there were an incredible number of surprises, skirmishes, and sieges, in the course of this year, which it would be tedious to relate, there was no general action that contributed to bring this destructive quarrel to a period. All was an irregular kind of war, in which torrents of the noblest blood of England flowed in vain <sup>82</sup>.

A.D. 1139.

Stephen displayed the greatest courage and activity in defending his cause, but injured it by his imprudence. He withheld the castle of Lincoln from William de Roumora, earl of Lincoln, half-brother to Ralph earl of Chester, though they were both his friends; and the two earls, having

A.D. 1141.

Stephen taken prisoner at Lincoln.

<sup>82</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 238, 239. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 248. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 224. where see a Latin poem on the miseries of this year.

A.D. 1141.

got possession of it by surprise, lived in it with their families, without discovering the least disposition to desert their party. The citizens of Lincoln being zealous royalists, acquainted the king that their castle was carelessly guarded, and might be easily taken, promising him their assistance in the attempt. Stephen, too often rash in his resolves, flew to Lincoln with his army, and invested the castle on Christmas day A. D. 1139. The earl of Chester made his escape, hastened into Cheshire, and raised all his followers in those parts; but not thinking himself strong enough to raise the siege, he applied to the earl of Gloucester, who was his father-in-law, for assistance; promising, that both he and the earl of Lincoln would declare for the empress. Gloucester, though he had been much offended with his son-in-law, for adhering so long to the adverse party, being ardently desirous of relieving his daughter in her distress, and gaining two such powerful barons to his side, complied with this request, and instantly began his march; on which he was joined by the earl of Chester and his forces. The united armies having passed the Trent, with much difficulty, early in the morning, February 2d, found their enemies drawn up without the walls of Lincoln in order of battle; the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the centre, with the king on foot at their head. The earl of Gloucester drew up his army in the same manner: one of his wings of horse was commanded by the earl of Chester, and the other wing

wing was composed entirely of noblemen and gentlemen who had lost their estates in this quarrel. These began the battle; and being animated with the two most powerful passions, revenge and hope, they threw away their spears, drew their swords, and advanced with such impetuosity, that their antagonists, who expected to have tilted with their spears as usual, were seized with a panic, and fled almost without fighting. The mercenaries on the other wing, commanded by William d'Ypres, were also put to flight by the earl of Chester and his followers. The main body of the king's army was now assaulted on all sides, and, after a long and valiant struggle, was entirely broken. Stephen having performed prodigies of valour, was taken prisoner, with some of his bravest followers, who scorned to desert their master in distress. The earl of Gloucester, to whom the king surrendered, treated his royal captive with great humanity, presented him to his rival the empress in the castle of Gloucester, and then conducted him to the castle of Bristol, where he was confined <sup>24</sup>.

By this great defeat, and the captivity of the king, the royalists were quite dispirited; and many of them made their submissions to the empress; who had an interview with the pope's legate, Henry bishop of Winchester, in a field

A.D. 1141.

The empress acknowledged queen.

<sup>24</sup> *Gesta Regis Stephani*, p. 952. W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 105. *Chron. Saxon*, p. 241. *Hen. Hunt.* l. 3. p. 224, 225. *R. Hoveden*, p. 278, 279, 280

A.D. 1147.

near that city, March 2d, in which she persuaded that prelate to abandon his brother in his distress, and acknowledge her title to the crown of England, and all the dominions of her father, by promising to allow him the chief direction of affairs. The empress made her triumphant entry into Winchester the day after, and was conducted to the cathedral by the legate, who publicly recognized her queen of England, and denounced a curse on all who refused to submit to her authority. A few days after, Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, and several other great men, both of the clergy and laity, having obtained the permission of the imprisoned king, made their submissions to her at Wilton: from whence she proceeded to Oxford, where she kept the festival of Easter with great pomp. The legate, in consequence of his convention with her, convened a great council of the prelates, abbots, and principal clergy, with deputies from the city of London, at Winchester, April 7th. Having first consulted privately with the prelates, next with the abbots, and, lastly, with the archdeacons, and obtained their consent to the acknowledgment of the empress, he opened the council with a very artful speech, which is preserved by a contemporary historian, who was present, and heard it with great attention<sup>85</sup>. He began with high encomiums on the felicities of his uncle Henry's reign; mentioned their

<sup>85</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 106.

having

A.D. 1141.

having sworn to support the succession of his daughter Maude; but that she delaying to come and take possession of the throne, his brother Stephen had been permitted to reign. He then aggravated the errors of his brother's government, particularly in imprisoning bishops, and oppressing the church and clergy. "For which crimes (said he) God hath rejected him, and given him into the hands of his enemies. And now, that the kingdom may not be without a ruler, we, the clergy of England, to whom it chiefly belongs to elect and ordain a king, having yesterday deliberated on this great cause in private, and invoked the direction of the Holy Spirit, did and do elect the daughter of the pacific, rich, glorious, good, and incomparable king Henry, to be our queen, and promise her our loyalty and support." To this all the members of the council gave their consent, by their acclamations or their silence. On the second day of the council the London deputies were introduced, and told the council, "That they did not come to debate, but to petition for the liberty of their king; and that the whole community of London, with all the barons, lately admitted into it, earnestly desired this of the legate, the archbishop, and all the clergy." The legate told the deputies what had been done in the council the day before; which they promised to report to their constituents. The council concluded on the third day, with pronouncing a sentence of

A.D. 1141.

excommunication on several persons who still adhered to the king, and particularly on one William Martel, who had plundered the legate's baggage<sup>86</sup>. The earl of Gloucester was at great pains in soothing the citizens of London, and at length prevailed upon them to admit the empress; who entered the city a few days before Midsummer, and began to make preparations for her coronation. But when her affairs were in this most prosperous train, her own misconduct threw all things into confusion, and occasioned another sudden and surprising revolution.

Haughty  
behaviour  
of the em-  
press, and  
its conse-  
quences.

Moderation in prosperity was a virtue unknown to the empress. Naturally proud and haughty, and elated beyond measure by her late successes, she behaved in an ungracious disobliging manner to her friends, and with great disdain and insolence to those who had been her enemies, even when they came to make their most humble submissions. Conceited of her wisdom, she slighted the advices of her uncle David king of Scotland, who had come to pay her a visit, and of her brother the earl of Gloucester, to whom she was so much indebted. She confiscated the estates of all who did not immediately submit to her authority, and thereby fixed them in their opposition; recalled all the grants that had been made by Stephen, those to the church not excepted, by which many were

<sup>86</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 106. Gesta Regis Stephani, F. 953.

ruined

CH. I. § 2. CIVIL AND MILIT.

turned in their fortunes, and the disobliged. Queen Matilda, who was a princess of uncommon merit, supplications for the liberty of engaging that he should solemnly crown, and retire into a monastery were all rejected. The citizens of London petitioned for some abatement in the the restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor: in answer to which she frowned them from her presence. At this affront, and dreading the fall of the government, they formed a plot to murder the king; which being discovered to the king's accomplices, she made her escape to Oxford<sup>87</sup>.

The behaviour of the legate had been equivocal, and on his declining to go to court, the earl of Gloucester met him at Winchester, with a design to persuade him to return, which he plainly discovered. Upon this the empress sent him to Winchester, attended by the bishops, the earl of Gloucester, and the barons, with their followers; and when he came into the royal castle, sent a messenger to the legate, who was at his house in the city, to court to give his advice on the importance. The crafty prelate told

<sup>87</sup> *Gesta Stephani Regis*, p. 955.

A. D. 1141.

that he would make ready as fast as possible: but he meant for resistance, and not obedience. Accordingly he dispatched couriers to queen Matilda, who was at the head of a body of troops in Kent, to the Londoners, and to all the friends of king Stephen, to come to him immediately, with all their followers; and he was so well obeyed, that in a few days he found himself at the head of a very powerful army, with which he invested the castle of Winchester on August 1st. The face of affairs was now greatly changed; the empress herself, the king of Scotland, the earl of Gloucester, and all the chief supporters of her cause, being shut up in one castle, in great danger of perishing by famine, or of falling into the hands of their enemies<sup>88</sup>.

The empress escapes, but the earl of Gloucester is taken.

In this extremity the earl of Gloucester formed a scheme for their deliverance. In those superstitious times, the most hostile armies, by tacit consent, suspended their operations, and relaxed their vigilance, on the festivals of the church. The festival of the Holy Cross was on the 14th of September; and very early on the morning of that day, the empress mounted on a swift horse, attended by a choice body of troops, marched silently out of Winchester, and made her escape to the Devizes, where she arrived, almost dead with terror and fatigue, and from thence was conveyed in a horse-litter to Gloucester. The king of Scotland also eluded his pursuers, and

<sup>88</sup> Gesta Stephani Regis, p. 955.

reached



Ch. 1. § 2. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

reached his own kingdom. But the earl of  
cester, who placed himself in the rear, was  
fued by a superior force, and taken prison  
Stokebridge, from whence he was conducte  
the castle of Rochester<sup>89</sup>.

This was as fatal a blow to the party of  
emprefs, as the captivity of king Stephen  
been to *his* adherents; and therefore, after  
agitation of spirits occasioned by these rapid  
lutions had a little subsided, a negotiation  
set on foot for an exchange of these two ill-  
ous prisoners, which was accomplished on  
vember 1st. The legate, who had been  
chief instrument of the deliverance of his brother  
from prison, convened a council of the clergy  
Westminster, December 7th, in which he  
a part directly opposite to that which he  
acted in the council of Winchester eight months  
before, and concluded with excommunicating  
all who adhered to the countess of Anjou,  
was the highest title he deigned to give the  
prefs, who had so lately been acknowledged  
him queen of England<sup>90</sup>.

Though the civil war still continued, no  
of importance happened in the former part  
this year, owing to a fit of sickness with  
king Stephen was seized in the spring, and the  
absence of the earl of Gloucester, who,

<sup>89</sup> J. Bræmpt. col. 1032.

<sup>90</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 106—108. Ge  
Stephani, p. 954—959. Contin. Flor. Worcest. p. 67;  
Hunt. l. 8. p. 225.

A. D. 1142.

earnest request of all his party, had made a voyage into Normandy, to bring over the husband of the empress, or her son prince Henry. The empress, in the absence of the earl, took up her residence in Oxford, where she was guarded by the noblemen of her party, who pledged their honour to him that they would protect her till he returned. King Stephen, after his recovery, besieged and took the town and castle of Wareham. From thence he marched with such secrecy and expedition, that he surprised the city of Oxford three days before Michaelmas, the empress with her retinue taking shelter in the castle; which was immediately invested by the king, who swore a solemn oath, that he would not raise the siege till he had taken his rival prisoner. When the siege had continued three months, and the garrison of the castle was reduced to the last extremity by famine, and the incessant assaults of the enemy, the empress made her escape from impending ruin, in a manner more surprising than any of her former escapes from Arundel, London, or Winchester. The river being frozen over, and the ground covered with snow, she dressed herself and three trusty knights in white, and issuing silently about midnight, at a postern of the castle, passed all the enemies centinels unobserved, travelled on foot to Abingdon, and from thence on horseback to Wallingford. Here she was soon after joined by an army that was marching to her relief, under the conduct of her brother the earl of Gloucester, with her son prince Henry

in his company, which made her forget all her fatigues and terrors. But the castle of Oxford having surrendered the morning after her escape, and the season being unfit for action, the barons with their followers were permitted to return to their own homes<sup>91</sup>.

A.D. 1142.

This destructive civil war had now raged so long, and with so much violence, that the strength of both parties was almost quite exhausted, and their attempts to annoy each other became so languid, that they hardly merit the attention of posterity. The earl of Gloucester formed a scheme for surprising the king, and his brother the bishop of Winchester, at Wilton, July 1st, this year; and they made their escape with great difficulty, leaving their plate and baggage to their enemy<sup>92</sup>. During the three succeeding years there was no action of importance; but the war was carried on between the barons of the opposite parties, by attacking each others castles, and plundering each others lands; which served to ruin and depopulate the country, but contributed nothing to the decision of this fatal quarrel<sup>93</sup>.

A.D. 1143.  
The civil war continued.

Prince Henry had now resided in the castle of Bristol above four years, prosecuting his studies under the care of his uncle earl Robert, the most learned as well as the most virtuous nobleman of his age, when his father Geoffrey of Anjou sent

A.D. 1147.  
Misery of England.

<sup>91</sup> Chron. Gervas, p. 1358. Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 959. W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 110.

<sup>92</sup> Gervas Chron. p. 1358. <sup>93</sup> Id. ibid. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 285.

a depu-

A.D. 1147.

a deputation to conduct him into Normandy, which was entirely reduced to his obedience. The earl of Gloucester attended his royal pupil to Wareham, where he embarked for the continent about ten days before Whitsuntide. This proved a final parting between the prince and his excellent preceptor, who died at his castle of Bristol, October 31st, this year. The empress, after the departure of her son, and the death of her brother, had so little comfort or authority in England, that she sailed for Normandy before Lent A. D. 1148, leaving the barons of her party for a time to govern and defend themselves<sup>93</sup>. King Stephen, during these two years, was so much embroiled with the clergy, and with the barons of his own party, by treacherously seizing their persons, and obliging them to deliver up their castles, that he could make no advantage of these events. "All England, in the mean time (to use the words of a contemporary historian), wore a face of misery and desolation. Multitudes abandoned their beloved country, and went into voluntary exile; others, forsaking their own houses, built wretched huts in the churchyards, hoping for protection from the sacredness of the place. Whole families, after sustaining life as long as they could, by eating herbs, roots, and the flesh of dogs and horses, at last died of hunger; and you might see

<sup>93</sup> Annal. Waverlicn. p. 156. Gervas Chron. 1363.

" many

"many pleasant villages without a single inhabitant of either sex"<sup>24</sup>.

A.D. 1147.

Prince Henry being now arrived at the military age of sixteen years, his father Geoffrey sent him through England, with a numerous and splendid retinue, into Scotland, to receive the honour of knighthood from his mother's uncle king David.

A.D. 1149.  
Prince Henry knighted by the king of Scotland.

That ceremony was accordingly performed at Carlisle on Whitfunday, May 22d, with great pomp, in the midst of a prodigious concourse of the nobility of England, Scotland, and Normandy<sup>25</sup>. The prince having spent about eight months in the court of Scotland, perfecting himself in his military exercises, sailed from thence in January A.D. 1150, into Normandy, which was soon after resigned to him by his father.

Prince Henry, after he had taken possession of Normandy, designed to have made his first essay in arms at the head of his party in England, for the recovery of that crown; but he was prevented from executing that design by a succession of important affairs, which detained him three years on the continent. The first of these affairs was a war with the king of France about the investiture of Normandy, which he at last obtained. The second was the death of his father Geoffrey earl of Anjou, which happened September 7th, on which he took possession of the territories of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. The third was his marriage with Eleanor heiress of Guienne

A.D. 1151.  
Prince Henry obtains Normandy, Anjou, &c.

<sup>24</sup> *Gesta Regis Stephani*, p. 961.

<sup>25</sup> *J. Hagulstad*, p. 227. *Hen. Hunt.* l. 3. p. 226.

and

A. D. 1152.

Marries  
Eleanor  
heirefs of  
Guienne.

and Poitou, on Whitsunday A. D. 1152, who, about six weeks before, had been divorced from Louis VII. king of France, to whom she had been sixteen years married. There was a great disproportion between the age of Henry, who was only in his twentieth year, and the age of this princess, whose character had also been a little sullied by the breath of fame. But she brought him a great accession of power and wealth by the territories of her family<sup>96</sup>. This excited the jealousy of her former husband; who now seeing his folly in parting with so rich an heirefs, formed an alliance against Henry, with king Stephen, his son prince Eustace, Theobald earl of Blois, and Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's younger brother, who was dissatisfied with his appanage. The allies invaded Normandy; which was so well defended, that they were obliged to retire, and abandon their enterprise. While Henry was thus employed on the continent, king Stephen, alarmed at his increasing power, endeavoured to get his eldest son prince Eustace crowned; but could not prevail upon Theobald archbishop of Canterbury to perform that ceremony<sup>97</sup>.

A. D. 1153.

Prince  
Henry in-  
vades  
England,  
and makes  
peace with  
Stephen.

Prince Henry, having made a truce with the king of France, set sail with a fleet of thirty-six ships, and landed in England, January 6th, attended by a small army, consisting of one hundred and forty knights, and three thousand foot.

<sup>96</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 227.

<sup>97</sup> Annal. Waverlicn. p. 157. Gervas Chron. p. 1371, 1372.  
Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 227.

Though

A. D. 1153.

Though it was now the middle of winter, the flames of the civil war broke out with greater violence than ever, and the Prince, being joined by the barons of his party, besieged the town and castle of Marlborough. King Stephen, having collected all his forces, attempted to raise the siege; but being prevented from executing that design by excessive rains, he returned with his army to London. After the surrender of Marlborough, the prince marched to Wallingford, where he was met by Stephen at the head of all his troops, which were now become more numerous than those of his competitor. The two armies lay facing each other three days, without coming to an engagement, which gave an opportunity to some of the barons, who deplored the miseries of their country, to propose an accommodation. A treaty was set on foot; the success of which was very much facilitated by the death of prince Eustace, king Stephen's eldest son, August 17th. After various negotiations, a peace was at last concluded on the following terms: That Stephen should continue to reign during life, and Prince Henry should succeed to the throne at his death, without any opposition. To secure this succession, all the barons of Stephen's party should swear to it, and the most important castles should be put into the hands of Henry's friends. This agreement, which diffused incredible joy over the whole kingdom, was solemnly ratified in a great council held at Winchester in November this year, and all the prelates and barons of

A. D. 1153. both parties took an oath of fealty, and did homage to Henry as successor in another council, held at Oxford, January 13th A. D. 1154. The prince, having regulated his affairs in England, returned into Normandy in the spring of this year<sup>98</sup>.

King Stephen dies.

Though king Stephen had enjoyed more authority, and the country more tranquillity, since the late pacification, than in any period of his reign, he was far from being pleased with that transaction, and soon began to show that he did not intend to be very punctual in performing his part of the treaty. By one article it was agreed, that all the castles which had been built on both sides since the death of Henry I. amounting (if we may believe a contemporary historian) to the number of 1115, should be demolished, as many of them had been nests of thieves, and the occasion of infinite mischiefs to the kingdom<sup>99</sup>. Henry had given strict orders to the barons of his party to execute this article; but Stephen made various excuses and delays. This, and some other things, it is probable, would have rekindled the flames of civil war, if these two princes had continued long on their present footing. But king Stephen was taken ill of the iliac passion, which put an end to his life and reign, at Dover, October 25th, in the fiftieth

<sup>98</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 228. M. Paris, p. 61. Annal. Waverliën. p. 158. J. Brompt. p. 1037. Rymer Fœdera, l. 1. p. 14.

<sup>99</sup> M. Paris, p. 61.



year of his age, and the nineteen reign<sup>100</sup>.

The following character of king S be collected from his actions, and fr ings of contemporary authors. In hi was graceful, strong, and active; in fation, pleasant and facetious; in ment popular and condescending, t that many esteemed unsuitable to He was a kind husband, a tender dulent parent, and to his favourite liberal but profuse. His courage boldest and most intrepid kind; and never aspired to royalty, he would ha died beloved. Ambition was the roc he split. His usurpation of the thr land involved him in the guilt of t pious perjuries and most vile ingrati preserve what he had usurped, he commit many acts of injustice, tre oppression. In a word, his reign fortable to himself, unhappy to his his country, being one continued f fusion, misery, and civil war, from ning to the end.

The events which happened in V period, were not of such importance a minute detail in this work. That continued to be harassed by wars be veral princes, whose mutual jealousy

<sup>100</sup> Chron. Gervas, col. 1376. Hen. Hunt.

A.D. 1154.

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occasion of frequent quarrels and of many miseries. In the intervals of these quarrels, they sometimes made incursions into the territories of the English, which drew upon them the resentment of that more powerful nation<sup>101</sup>.

History of Scotland.

King Edgar, the eldest surviving son of Malcolm Canmore, was seated on the throne of Scotland at the beginning of this period, when Henry, the youngest son of William the Conqueror, mounted the throne of England; who soon after married the princess Matilda, king Edgar's sister. This near relation between the two royal families produced a long and cordial peace between the two nations. Nor was the internal tranquillity of the kingdom interrupted by any civil commotions during the reign of this prince; who dying at Dundee, January 8th, A.D. 1107, was succeeded by his younger brother Alexander<sup>102</sup>. This prince was as happy as his predecessor in cultivating the friendship of his brother-in-law the king of England; but discovered more activity in suppressing certain bands of robbers, by whom the northern parts of the kingdom were much infested, and in reducing the licentious nobility to a due obedience to the laws, by an impartial administration of justice; which procured him the surname of *the Fierce*. Alexander was married to Sibylla, natural daughter of

<sup>101</sup> See Dr. Powel's History of Wales, p. 157—204.

<sup>102</sup> Chron. Mailros, p. 163. Fordun. Scotichron. l. 5. c. 28. Buchan. Hist. l. 7.

Henry

Henry I. <sup>103</sup>; but died without issue, A. D. 1124; and was succeeded by his youngest brother David; commonly called *St. David*, on account of his great piety (according to the mode of those times), and of his excessive liberality to the church and clergy. David was educated in England, under the care of his uncle Edgar Atheling; and after the marriage of his sister to king Henry, he resided chiefly in the English court; where he married Matilda, the only child of Waltheof earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, by which he obtained a title to these two earldoms. By his long residence in England he acquired a taste for the English manners and way of living, which he laboured to introduce among his own subjects after his accession to the throne of Scotland <sup>104</sup>. As earl of Huntingdon he was the first of the laity who swore, A. D. 1126, to support the succession of the empress Maude to the crown of England; and when that oath had been shamefully violated by almost all who had taken it, this pious prince invaded England several times (as hath been already mentioned), to pull down the usurper Stephen, and raise the empress to the throne. In the last years of Stephen's reign he remained in the quiet possession of the four northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham; and these counties were ceded to him and his

<sup>103</sup> Dalrymple's Collections, p. 371.

<sup>104</sup> W. Malmf. l. 5. p. 90.

A. D. 1154.

heirs by prince Henry Plantagenet, afterwards Henry II. when he received the honour of knighthood from him at Carlisle, May 22d, A. D. 1149; and that cession was confirmed by an oath, that it should never be resumed<sup>105</sup>. In his old age this excellent king lost his only son Henry, who is represented by all the historians of those times, as one of the most virtuous and accomplished princes of the age in which he flourished. When Henry was at the English court, A. D. 1139, he fell in love with, and married, Ada, sister of William earl of Warren and Surrey; by whom he left, at his death, A. D. 1152, three sons, Malcolm, William, and David, and three daughters, Margaret, afterwards married to Conan duke of Britanny, Adama, married to Florence earl of Holland, and Matilda<sup>106</sup>. King David did not long survive his amiable and much-beloved son, but falling sick at Carlisle, where he frequently resided, he died there, in a very pious manner, May 24th, A. D. 1153; and was succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm IV, surnamed *the Maiden*.

<sup>105</sup> W. Neubrigenf. l. 1. c. 24. l. 2. c. 4.<sup>106</sup> Fordun. Scotichron. l. 5. c. 33.

## SECTION III.

*The civil and military history of Great Britain;  
from the accession of Henry II. to the throne of  
England, A. D. 1154, to his death, A. D. 1189.*

**H**ENRY PLANTAGENET, eldest son of the  
empress Maudé, and of Geoffrey Planta-  
genet earl of Anjou, was besieging the castle of  
a rebellious baron in Normandy, when he re-  
ceived the important and unexpected news of the  
death of king Stephen. Having finished the  
siege in which he was engaged, by taking the  
castle, he began to make preparations for his  
voyage to England, where he landed, near Hurst  
castle, December 8th, and was crowned at West-  
minster on the 19th of the same month, with his  
consort Eleanor, by Theobald archbishop of  
Canterbury, in a great assembly of prelates and  
nobles. This event gave inexpressible satis-  
faction to the people of England, as it put an  
end to the irregular succession of their kings, and  
to those destructive civil wars which had brought  
their country to the very brink of ruin.

A. D. 1154.  
Corona-  
tion of  
Henry II.

The first acts of Henry's government were  
equally wise and vigorous, and confirmed the  
high opinion which his subjects entertained of

A. D. 1155.  
First mea-  
sures of  
his go-  
vernment  
wise and  
vigorous.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 989. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 1. M. Paris,  
p. 65. Annales Waverliens. p. 158.

**A.D. 1155.** his spirit and abilities. He immediately issued a proclamation, commanding all the foreign mercenaries, who in the preceding reign had committed the most horrible depredations, to depart the kingdom by a certain day, under the pain of death; and they all vanished before the appointed time. He gave orders to level with the ground the numerous castles which had been erected, in all parts of England, in the late civil wars, and from which the neighbouring countries had been desolated; and these orders were obeyed, though, in some places, with no small reluctance. Finding the crown greatly impoverished by the many grants of the royal demesnes, which had been made by king Stephen, and even by the empress, to their respective partisans, he obtained a decree of his parliament or great council, to resume all these grants; which he executed with the most perfect impartiality, and with much greater ease than could have been expected<sup>2</sup>.

Parliaments.

In a parliament held at London, he voluntarily granted a charter of liberties, or rather renewed and confirmed that which had been granted by his grandfather Henry-I<sup>3</sup>. In another parliament, held at Winchester, about Michaelmas, he found the affairs of his kingdom in such a settled state, that he consulted with his barons, about attempting the conquest of Ireland, to be given to his youngest brother prince William:

<sup>2</sup> Gervas Chron. ann. 1155. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Judge Blackstone's Law-Tracts, vol. 2. p. 11.

but

but this project not being agreeable to his mother the empress, the execution of it was postponed<sup>4</sup>. The coin, which had been shamefully adulterated in the preceding reign, he restored to its standard purity; and the laws, which had been as shamefully relaxed, he raised to their proper dignity and vigour<sup>5</sup>. To secure all these blessings to his subjects, and prevent all disputes about the succession, he made all his prelates and barons take an oath of fealty to his eldest son prince William; and, failing him, to his second son prince Henry, who was born in March this year<sup>6</sup>. In a word, it may be truly said, that no king of England had ever done so much good, or gained so much love, in so short a time, since Alfred the Great, as Henry II. in the first year of his reign, though it was only the twenty-first year of his age.

A. D. 1155.

England being now in perfect tranquillity, Henry embarked at Dover, in January this year; arrived at Rouen, the capital of Normandy, where his mother the empress resided, on Candlemas day; and, about a week after, had an interview with Louis VII. king of France, to whom he did homage for all his territories on the continent<sup>7</sup>. After this interview he returned to Rouen; where he was visited by the earl and counts of Flanders, and by his brother Geoffrey, who, discontented with the smallness of

A. D. 1156.  
Voyage  
into Nor-  
mandy.<sup>4</sup> Aanal. Waverlien. p. 158.<sup>5</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 282.<sup>6</sup> Gervas Chron. ann. 1155.<sup>7</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 991.

his

**A. D. 1156.** his appanage, claimed the earldom of Anjou, and being refused, retired to his castles, and endeavoured to excite an insurrection. Henry pursued him with an army, and took all his castles, which he demolished; but upon his submission, he restored his lands, and granted him an annual pension of one thousand pounds sterling, and two thousand pounds of Angevine money<sup>8</sup>. After this transaction, which was finished in July, he made a progress into Guienne, and the other provinces which he had got by his queen; and received the homage of the prelates and nobles of those provinces<sup>9</sup>.

**A. D. 1157.**  
Henry re-  
turns to  
England.

Henry's reputation was already become so great, that the earl and countess of Flanders having resolved upon a pilgrimage into the Holy Land, appointed him guardian to their infant son, and regent of their dominions in their absence. He spent the beginning of this year in regulating the affairs of that earldom<sup>10</sup>. On his return into England, in the week after Easter, he recovered the four northern counties by negotiation from Malcolm IV. king of Scotland, who was in no condition to contend with a prince who was so much his superior in power as well as in abilities<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 991. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 7. M. Paris. p. 67.

<sup>9</sup> Ypodigma Neustrie, p. 446.

<sup>10</sup> Gervas Chron. ann. 1157. Chron. Norman. p. 993.

<sup>11</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 4.



The Welsh had made frequent incursions into England in the last reign, in which they had not only done much mischief to the country, but had recovered the possession of several extensive districts, of which they had been formerly deprived; and had shaken off their dependence upon the English crown. Henry being now at leisure, raised a great army, with which he entered Wales about the beginning of August, and advanced to Basingwerk in Flintshire, without meeting with any opposition. But as he was marching with the van of his army through a narrow defile near that place, he was suddenly assaulted by the Welsh, who pouring showers of arrows, darts, and stones; from the surrounding precipices, put his troops into such confusion, that Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer of England, threw down the royal standard, and, flying, cried out, that the king was slain, and all was lost. This spread such a panic through the army, that it was on the point of disbanding, when the king, by shewing himself, prevented a total defeat<sup>12</sup>. After this disaster, Henry, changing his route, marched his army along the sea-coast, attended by his fleet, and proceeded with great caution, cutting down the woods, making roads, and building castles to secure his conquests, as he advanced. Owen Guyneth, prince of North Wales, convinced of his inability to

A. D. 1157.  
Expedi-  
tion into  
Wales.

<sup>12</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 5. Gervas Chron. ann. 1157. M, Paris, p. 68. Chron. Maîtres, ann. 1158.

defend

**A. D. 1157.** defend his country against an enemy so powerful and so prudent, made his peace, by resigning all his late acquisitions, and doing homage for what he retained <sup>13</sup>.

**A. D. 1158.** Henry, having spent the first months of this year in a royal progress for the administration of justice, had an interview with Malcolm king of Scotland, at Carlisle, who came thither in hopes of receiving the honour of knighthood; but some misunderstanding arising between the two monarchs, Malcolm did not receive that honour at this time <sup>14</sup>. In his return into the south, Henry celebrated the feast of Easter in the suburbs of Lincoln, in compliance with the superstitious terrors of his subjects, who had been taught by a pretended prophecy, that some great calamity would befall the first king of England who presumed to wear his crown within the walls of that city <sup>15</sup>. Soon after this he made another voyage to the continent on the following occasion. The people of Nantz in Brittany, having revolted from their rightful sovereign, invited Geoffrey Plantagenet, king Henry's brother, to become their earl; and that prince being now dead, Henry laid claim to the earldom of Nantz, as heir to his brother. This claim which doth not seem to have been very well founded, was disputed by Conan duke of Brittany, who, on Geoffrey's death, had taken possession of Nantz,

<sup>13</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 5. <sup>14</sup> Chron. de Mailros, ad ann. 1158.

<sup>15</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 282. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 9.

as belonging to his dukedom. At Henry's arrival in Normandy, he had an interview with the king of France; and in order to gain his friendship, and prevent his espousing the cause of the duke of Brittany, he proposed a marriage between his eldest surviving son, prince Henry, and Margaret, the eldest daughter of that king by his second queen, Constantia of Castile. This proposal was so agreeable to the French monarch, that it was not only accepted, but Henry was invited to Paris, where he was most magnificently entertained several days, and obtained a commission, as earl of Anjou, and seneschal of France, to determine the important controversy that had subsisted for some time between Eudo earl of Penthièvre, and Conan duke of Brittany, about the right to that dukedom. As soon as Conan was informed of this commission, he waited upon Henry, and voluntarily yielded to him the earldom of Nantz, to procure a sentence in his favour; which was accordingly pronounced<sup>16</sup>. Thus the king of England, by his policy and power, was making continual additions to his dominions.

Henry had no sooner made good his claim, such as it was, to the earldom of Nantz, than he advanced another, in right of his queen, to the earldom of Thoulouse: which seems to have been better founded. For queen Eleanor was the grand-daughter of Philippa, the only child

A. D. 1156.

A. D. 1159.  
Return  
into Eng-  
land, &c.

<sup>16</sup> Gervas Chron. ann. 1138. Chron. Norman. p. 994.

of

A. D. 1159.

of William IV. earl of Thoulouse; but that earl, before his death, conveyed all his dominions to his brother Raimond earl of St. Giles; whose grandson, of the same name, was now earl of Thoulouse. When Eleanor was queen of France, her husband, Louis VII. esteemed her pretensions to the earldom of Thoulouse so good, that he besieged that city; but was prevented from prosecuting the siege, by his expedition into the Holy Land. Henry being now the husband of Eleanor, determined to assert her right to that great earldom, which then comprehended Quercy and the greatest part of Languedoc<sup>17</sup>. In order to this, he came over into England in the beginning of this year, and held a great council of his prelates, barons, and military tenants, who willingly agreed to pay a sum of money rather than serve in person in this distant expedition. The sum demanded, and paid, for each knight's fee, was three pounds; by which he raised one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, in England, equal in weight of silver to five hundred and forty thousand pounds, and in efficacy at least to two million seven hundred thousand pounds of our present money<sup>18</sup>.

Expedi-  
tion  
against  
Thou-  
louse.

After Easter he returned into Normandy, where he levied a similar tax from his military tenants, and with this money he took into his service great multitudes of adventurers or soldiers of fortune, with whom all the countries of Europe

<sup>17</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 995.<sup>18</sup> Gervas Chron. c. 1381.

abounded

abounded in those times: About Midsummer Henry assembled his own troops, and those of his allies (among whom were Malcolm king of Scotland, who was knighted in this expedition, and Raimond earl of Barcelona, and king of Aragon), in Guienne; and from thence invaded Quercy, where he took the city of Cahors. He then directed his march towards Thoulouse, with a view to invest that city; but received intelligence by the way, that the king of France had thrown himself into it, with a body of troops, and declared his resolution to defend it to the last extremity. The famous Thomas Becket, who was then chancellor of England, and Henry's greatest favourite, vehemently urged him to proceed, and seize, without ceremony, the person of his sovereign lord, of whom he held all his extensive territories on the continent, and to whom he had sworn fealty. But this advice was prudently rejected, as too bold and dangerous, inconsistent with his oath of fealty, and with that respect which he owed to the person of his sovereign, which it was the interest of a prince who had so many powerful vassals of his own, to hold sacred and inviolable. Henry therefore declared, that out of respect to the king of France, he would not besiege Thoulouse; but he prosecuted the war in other places with equal vigour and success<sup>19</sup>. This war continued both in Lan-

<sup>19</sup> Fitz-Stephen, Vita S. T. Cantuar. p. 22. Joann. in Quadri-  
logo, c. 9, 10. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 10.

*A. D. 1159.* *guedoc, on the frontiers of Normandy, and in other places, from August to December; when a truce was concluded for six months, and negotiations for a peace were set on foot.*

*A. D. 1160.* *Treaty of peace.* Before the expiration of this truce, the terms of peace were settled, by which Henry was permitted to retain all those places in the earldom of Thoulouse that he had conquered. But before the final conclusion of the treaty, some misunderstanding arose between the two kings, which put off the ratification of it to the month of October, when the prince of England did homage to the king of France for the duchy of Normandy<sup>20</sup>.

*War with France.*

This peace was of very short duration. By an article in the treaty, the towns of Gisors, Neufle, and Newchatel, the marriage portion of the princess Margaret (the eldest daughter of the king of France by his second queen), who had been promised in marriage to prince Henry about two years before, were to be delivered up, by the knights-templars, to whom they were then committed, into the hands of the king of England, as soon as the espousals between the royal infants were celebrated, with the consent of the church. The king of England dreading a change in the dispositions of the French monarch, who had married a princess of the house of Blois, after a widowhood of only twelve days, and being very desirous to secure his son's marriage

<sup>20</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 997.

with the French princess, and to get possession of her fortune, prevailed upon the pope's legate to celebrate the espousals between Henry and Margaret (who had been sent into Normandy to be educated), though the prince was only six, and the princess only five years of age. As soon as this ceremony was performed, he demanded and obtained the three towns from the knights-templars, according to the stipulations of the treaty. The king of France was so much irritated at this transaction, that he banished the three knights who had delivered up the three towns, and commenced hostilities against the king of England <sup>21</sup>.

A. D. 1160.

The operations of this new war were of small importance. For when the two armies lay near each other in the month of June, and neither of the kings discovered any inclination to attack the other, their common friends interposed their good offices, and a peace was concluded about Midsummer, on the same terms with the former <sup>22</sup>. This peace gave both kings an opportunity of attending to the affairs of the church, and particularly to the great dispute between the two popes, Alexander III. and Victor IV.; on which subject each king having held a council of his clergy in July, they both met in a general council at Thoulouse in August, and agreed to acknowledge pope Alexander <sup>23</sup>.

A. D. 1161.  
Treaty of  
peace.

<sup>21</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 24. R. Hoveden, p. 281. M. Paris, p. 68. Ypodigma Neustrie, ann. 1160.

<sup>22</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 998.

<sup>23</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 9.

A.D. 1162.

Interview  
with the  
king of  
France.

Henry spent this year in great tranquillity on the continent, regulating the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his foreign dominions; and for that purpose he held several assemblies of his prelates and nobility<sup>24</sup>. In autumn the kings of France and England had an interview with their pope, Alexander III. at Torcy on the Loire, at which these two great monarchs condescended to hold that pontiff's stirrups as he mounted his horse, and to guide the reins of his bridle as they conducted him into the town<sup>25</sup>. Such was the real or political humility of princes, and the pride of priests, in those superstitious times.

A.D. 1163.

Henry re-  
turns into  
England.

After an absence of more than three years, king Henry landed at Southampton, January 26th, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by his English subjects of all ranks<sup>26</sup>. Malcolm king of Scotland paid him a visit this summer, and renewed the peace between the two kingdoms, giving his youngest brother David, and the sons of some of his earls, as hostages for the performance of the conditions of the treaty, particularly for the surrender of some castles<sup>27</sup>. At the same time, viz. July 1st, Owen Guyneth, prince of North Wales, and Rheefe, prince of South Wales, did homage to king Henry, and to prince Henry his eldest son, at Woodstoke, for their respective principalities. In the course of this year, commissioners ap-

<sup>24</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 998.<sup>26</sup> Id. p. 999.<sup>25</sup> Id. *ibid*.<sup>27</sup> Id. *ibid*.

pointed



pointed by the king took an inquisition of all the knights fees that were in England at the death of Henry I. and at this time, together with the various services and prestations due by each to the crown, to serve as a rule for exacting those services and prestations<sup>28</sup>: a work still preserved in the exchequer, and, next to Doomf-day-book of the greatest utility<sup>29</sup>.

A.D. 1163.

The most important transactions of this and of several succeeding years, consisted of the violent disputes between the king and the famous Thomas Becket, now become archbishop of Canterbury; and belong more properly to the ecclesiastical than to the civil history of England<sup>30</sup>.

A.D. 1164.  
Disputes  
with Thomas Becket.

In Lent A.D. 1165, Henry went over into Normandy, and had an interview with the king of France at Gisors, about Easter; after which he was visited at Rouen by his cousin Philip earl of Flanders, to whom he had been a very faithful guardian<sup>31</sup>. On his return into England, in summer, he received the ambassadors of the emperor Frederic, at Westminster, who came to demand his eldest daughter Maude in marriage for Henry duke of Saxony and Bavaria, son of the late emperor Conrade; and they succeeded in their negotiation<sup>32</sup>. In the autumn he marched with a body of troops into Wales, and defeated a considerable army of the enemy, commanded by three of their princes.

A.D. 1165.  
Voyage to  
Norman-  
dy, and  
return into  
England.<sup>28</sup> M. Paris, p. 70. col. 2. Dicet. col. 336.<sup>29</sup> Vide Lib. Rub. Scaccarii.<sup>30</sup> See chap. 4.<sup>31</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 1000.<sup>32</sup> Powel, p. 222.

A. D. 1166.

Henry re-  
turns into  
Norman-  
dy.

Confede-  
racy de-  
feated.

Henry having spent the winter in England, he returned, in Lent A.D. 1166, to the continent, where his presence was become necessary. Some of the powerful and factious barons of La Maine had formed a confederacy, and disregarded the authority of queen Eleanor, who acted as regent of the dominions on the continent, where she now resided; and several barons of Brittany had also entered into this confederacy. Henry, conducting an army into La Maine, soon reduced the refractory nobility of that country to due submission, by taking and demolishing their castles.

Duke of  
Britanny  
resigns his  
dominions  
to Henry,  
&c.

Conan duke of Brittany had some time ago betrothed his only child, Constantia, to Geoffrey, the king of England's third son; and now finding himself unable to keep his turbulent barons in subjection, he resigned his duchy into the hands of that king, to be governed by him, for the benefit of Geoffrey and Constantia during their minority. Henry accepted of this resignation, made a progress through Brittany, and received the homage of the barons and military tenants of that country, which was a considerable accession to his power<sup>33</sup>. On December 5th, he was visited, at Mount St. Michael in Normandy, by William, surnamed the *Lion*, king of Scotland, who had lately mounted that throne on the death of his brother Malcolm IV<sup>34</sup>. The affairs of the Christians in the

<sup>33</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 1000. Chron. Trevel. ann. 1166.

<sup>34</sup> Chron. Mailros, ann. 1166.

Holy Land being at this time in great distress, Henry, with the consent of his prelates and barons, imposed a tax of two-pence in the pound for one year, and one penny in the pound for four years after, on the goods of all his subjects on the continent, and a similar tax, in the same manner, on his English subjects, for their relief<sup>35</sup>.

A. D. 1166.

A misunderstanding arose in the beginning of this year between the kings of France and England, occasioned by several matters of no great importance, in which their views and interests were incompatible. Both these monarchs raised armies, and took and destroyed towns and castles; but a stop was put to their destructive ravages, by a truce, which was concluded in the month of August, to continue till the succeeding Easter<sup>36</sup>. The empress Maude, who had formerly acted a distinguished part in the affairs of Europe, but since the accession of her illustrious son to the throne of England had lived in an honourable retirement at Rouen, died there on September 10th this year, and was buried in the abbey of Beec; to which she had been a benefactress<sup>37</sup>.

A. D. 1167.  
War with  
France,  
and truce.

The barons of Poitou and Guienne, discontented with some measures of Henry's government, which are not mentioned, having secretly put themselves under the protection of the king

A. D. 1168.  
Henry  
suppresses  
rebellions  
in Poitou,  
&c.<sup>35</sup> Chron. Trevel. ann. 1166.<sup>36</sup> Id. ibid.<sup>37</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 1101.

A. D. 1168.

of France, and given him hostages for their fidelity, broke out into open rebellion in the first months of this year. But they soon had reason to repent of their rashness. For Henry, marching with great expedition into their country, took and demolished their strongest castles, and reduced them to the necessity of professing their willingness to submit to his authority, if he could recover their hostages from the king of France. To accomplish this, he had an interview with that prince between Mante and Pacey, about the end of the Easter holidays. But Louis absolutely refused to give up the hostages, and only agreed to prolong the truce till Midsummer. In the meantime the barons of Brittany, who had secretly promised subjection and given hostages to the French monarch, threw off the mask, and refused to obey Henry's commands to join his army. They had no better success than their neighbours of Poitou and Guienne; their castles were seized, and they were constrained to offer submission on the same terms. This produced a second interview between the two monarchs about Midsummer, in which the king of France refusing to give up the hostages which he had received from Henry's rebellious barons, the truce was not prolonged, and an open war broke out, which continued several months without any memorable action <sup>38</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 1002.

Both kings being at length weary of a war, which was very pernicious to their subjects, without being either honourable or advantageous to themselves, a peace was concluded between them, January 6th, A.D. 1169. On this occasion, prince Henry of England did homage to his father-in-law the king of France, for Anjou and Maine, as he had formerly done for Normandy; prince Richard, the king of England's second son, did homage for Aquitaine; and Geoffrey, his third son, for Brittany<sup>39</sup>. The rest of this year was spent in improving the fortifications of the frontier towns of Normandy, and in various negotiations with Thomas Becket archbishop of Canterbury, which will be related in the second chapter of this book.

A.D. 1169.  
Peace with  
France.

The ceremonies of coronation and the royal unction were esteemed more important and essential in the times we are now delineating than they are at present. Hence proceeded that extreme haste that princes with disputed titles discovered to have those ceremonies performed upon them; and the desire of many of the kings of France to see their sons crowned and anointed in their own lifetime as the most effectual security of their succession. Henry, prompted by parental affection, and influenced by several political reasons, had resolved to have his eldest son prince Henry crowned and anointed king of England as soon as possible. But as he was

A.D. 1170.  
Henry returns into England, crowns his son prince Henry, and returns to Normandy.

<sup>39</sup> Chron. Norman. p. 1002.

A. D. 1170.

now at variance with the archbishop of Canterbury, who claimed an exclusive right to perform these ceremonies, the execution of this design was attended with no small difficulty. Being sensible of this, he conducted it with great dexterity and art. Having brought all his dominions on the continent to a state of perfect tranquillity, he came over into England, from whence he had been absent about four years, and, landing at Portsmouth, March 3d, soon after held a parliament or assembly of his great men. In this assembly commissioners were appointed to visit each county in the kingdom, and to make strict inquiry into the conduct of the sheriffs and other magistrates during the king's absence, and to bring the result of their inquiries to another great council to be held at London, June 4th. At this last assembly, William king of Scotland, David his brother, the prelates, earls, barons, sheriffs, bailiffs, and aldermen of all England, were present, anxious and uncertain about the king's designs, when, to their great surprise, prince Henry, who had arrived from Normandy only the week before, was solemnly crowned and anointed king, by Roger archbishop of York; and, the day after, all the members of this assembly swore fealty to the young king, with a saving of the fealty they owed to his father<sup>40</sup>. About Midsummer king Henry the father re-

<sup>40</sup> Brompton, col. 1060. Gervas Cant. col. 1410. Benedict. Abbas, p. 4, 5:

turned

turned into Normandy, leaving the young King regent of England. He had an interview with the king of France, July 22d, in which that prince complained, that his daughter Margaret had not been crowned with her husband. But on Henry's assuring him, that this was owing only to the dispatch and secrecy that were necessary on that occasion, and promising that this defect should be supplied as soon as possible, he seemed to be contented. Soon after this interview, the king of England, being seized with a severe fit of sickness, made his will, and bequeathed to his eldest son the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, with the earldoms of Anjou and Maine, requiring him to make some provision for his youngest son John; to his second son, Richard, he left the duchy of Aquitaine; and to his third son, Geoffrey, the duchy of Brittany<sup>41</sup>. After his recovery from this sickness, he had a dispute with the king of France, about the archbishopric of Bourges, which produced one of those short and unimportant wars that were so frequent in the times we are now considering<sup>42</sup>.

Henry II. had entertained thoughts of invading Ireland, and attempting the conquest of that island, very soon after his accession to the throne of England. In the second year of his reign, having obtained a bull from pope Adrian IV. who was an Englishman, authorising and exhorting him to that undertaking, he proceeded so

A. D. 1170.

A. D. 1171.

Henry takes Dermot king of Leinster under his protection.

<sup>41</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 56.<sup>42</sup> R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 298.

A.D. 1171.

Dermot, but the conquest of Ireland; and in order to obtain that permission, he went over to the king in Normandy. Henry hesitated much about granting his request; but having at length let fall some words which seemed to imply a grant of his desire, the earl laid hold upon them, and hastening into England, pushed his preparations with the greatest vigour. When he had collected an army of twelve hundred men, in which were two hundred knights, with a fleet sufficient to transport them into Ireland, he received positive orders from the king to desist from his enterprize. This threw him into great perplexity, and occasioned some delay. But at length reflecting that he was ruined if he desisted, and had the prospect of a splendid fortune if he proceeded, he ventured to sail from Milford-haven, and landed near Waterford, August 23d, A. D. 1170, and a few days after took that town by storm. Here he was joined by Dermot, and his marriage with Eva the eldest daughter of that prince was celebrated; after which, the forces of all the English adventurers being united to those of the king of Leinster, they took the city of Dublin, and reduced the whole kingdom of Meath before the end of that campaign<sup>47</sup>. On the 1st day of May A. D. 1171, Dermot king of Leinster died at Fernes; and was succeeded in that kingdom by earl Strongbow, his son-in-law, without any opposition<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> G. Cambrenf. Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 13—18. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 26.

<sup>48</sup> Expugnat. Hibern. l. 1. c. 20. p. 771.



The news of the successes of these adventurers in Ireland being carried to Henry, who was still in Normandy, he was much offended with their presumption, in slighting his orders, and attempting the conquest of kingdoms, which he had meditated. To put a stop to their further progress, he issued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his subjects from sailing into Ireland, and commanding all those who were in that island to return into England before the feast of Easter, on pain of perpetual banishment, and the confiscation of their estates<sup>49</sup>. Strongbow was greatly alarmed at this proclamation, as it tended to deprive him of his followers, and indicated the high displeasure of his sovereign; to mitigate which he sent Reymond, one of his greatest confidants, to the king, to make him an offer of all his acquisitions in Ireland, in the most humble and submissive terms<sup>50</sup>. Though this offer could not fail to be agreeable to Henry, he received it with a fullen silence, and Reymond was obliged to return to his master without any positive assurance of pardon.

Henry having settled his affairs on the continent, and left his dominions there under the government of the young king his son, sailed for England, and landed at Portsmouth August 3d. As soon as Strongbow heard of the king's arrival in England, he came over, and threw himself at his feet, imploring his pardon, and

A. D. 1171.

Henry's  
proclamation  
against  
these ex-  
peditions.

Henry's  
expedition  
into Ire-  
land.

<sup>49</sup> G. Cambrenf. Expug. Hibern l. 1. c. 19.

<sup>50</sup> Id. ibid.  
resigning

A.D. 1171.

resigning all his conquests to his disposal. Henry's resentment being overcome by this submissive deportment, he received him into favour; restored him his estate in England, which had been confiscated; and even permitted him to retain a great part of the kingdom of Leinster, to be held of the crown of England; but took the city of Dublin and all the towns on the coast into his own hands<sup>51</sup>. All things being now in readiness for his Irish expedition, the king embarked his army on board a fleet of four hundred and forty transports, at Milford-haven, and sailing from thence, with a fair wind, landed, October 26th, near Waterford, one of the towns resigned to him by Strongbow, where he was received with joy. The fame of his arrival soon spread over all the country, and disposed the petty princes of those parts to make their submissions, and acknowledge him as their sovereign lord. He entertained them with great civility; and having received their homage, and oaths of fealty, and imposed a moderate annual tribute upon each, as an acknowledgement of his sovereignty, he dismissed them with valuable presents<sup>52</sup>. From Waterford he marched at the head of his army to Dublin, which he entered, November 21st, without having seen or heard of any enemy. In this city he celebrated the festival

<sup>51</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 26.

<sup>52</sup> Benedict. Abbas, ann. 1171. p. 27. Expugnat. Hibern. l. 1. c. 30, 31.

of Christmas, in a wooden palace erected for that purpose, in which he not only entertained the great men of his own court and army, but many of the Irish princes and chieftains, who were much surprised at the great plenty and variety of provisions<sup>53</sup>. While he resided in this city, Roderic king of Connaught, the supreme monarch of Ireland, had an interview, on the banks of the river Shannon, with Roger de Lacy and William Fitzaldelm, commissioners appointed to receive his homage, and settle his tribute, which they did; and by that transaction the conquest of the island was in a manner completed<sup>54</sup>.

A.D. 1171.

The king spent the first months of this year at Dublin, in regulating the affairs of his new dominions, and in improving their police (which was very imperfect), by introducing the English laws and customs<sup>55</sup>. The Irish clergy, in the acts of a council held at Cashel, 25th March this year, confess their obligations to their new sovereign on this account, in very strong terms, acknowledging, "That before his coming into Ireland, many evil customs had prevailed there, which by his power and wisdom were now abolished<sup>56</sup>." Soon after Candlemas, Henry left Dublin, and took up his residence at Wexford, where he impatiently expected news from England. But a succession of violent storms

A.D. 1172.  
Henry's return into England, and voyage to Normandy, &c.

<sup>53</sup> Expugnat. Hibern. l. 1. c. 32.

<sup>54</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>55</sup> M. Paris, p. 88.

<sup>56</sup> Expugnat. Hibern. c. 34. p. 777.  
inter-

A. D. 1172. interrupted all navigation between the two islands for several weeks. At length, about the middle of Lent, he received intelligence, that two legates from the pope, about the affair of Becket's murder, had waited for him some months in Normandy, and threatened to lay all his dominions under an interdict, if he did not soon appear. Though he ardently desired to spend the summer in Ireland, he immediately prepared for his departure; and having put garisons into all the places of strength in his possession, and appointed Hugh de Lacy (a nobleman in whose courage, wisdom, and fidelity he reposed the greatest confidence) governor of Dublin, and chief justiciary of the kingdom, he sailed from Wexford on Easter Monday, and in the evening landed at Portfinnan in South Wales<sup>57</sup>. Passing with as much expedition as possible through Wales and England, he embarked, together with his son the young king, at Portsmouth, and landed at Barfleur in Normandy, on the 9th of May<sup>58</sup>. The king of France was so much surprised at the news of his arrival, that he cried out, "this Henry of England rather flies than either rides or fails"<sup>59</sup>. At an interview between these two monarchs soon after, all their differences were, in appearance at least, compromised, and young king Henry, with his queen, Margaret of

<sup>57</sup> Expugnat. Hibern. l. i. c. 35, 36, 37. Benedict. Abbas, p. 31, 32. R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 303.

<sup>58</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 33. <sup>59</sup> Ypodigma Neúffriz, p. 448.

France,

France, were sent over into England, and were both solemnly crowned at Winchester, August 27th, and immediately returned to the continent. On the arrival of these personages, a great council was held at Avranches, September 27th, in which the troublesome affair relating to the murder of Thomas Becket was terminated, and king Henry the father received absolution from the pope's legates; to procure which he promised, amongst other things, to take the cross next Christmas for the recovery of the Holy Land, and in the mean time to give as much money to the knights templars as would maintain two hundred knights a whole year for the defence of Jerusalem<sup>60</sup>. The king of France, pretending to have a strong desire to see his daughter the young queen of England, and his son-in-law, they were sent to his court in November; where they continued till they were remanded by Henry, who began to be suspicious that Louis, who never was his real friend, might give his son some improper advice<sup>61</sup>.

A. D. 1172.

Henry was in great prosperity in the beginning of this year, and his prosperity seemed to be built on the most solid foundations. He was in the prime of life—had a numerous family of sons and daughters, of whom he was remarkably fond, and for whom he had made the most munificent provisions—his extensive dominions were in a state of the most profound tranquillity, and per-

A. D. 1173.  
Conspiracy formed  
against  
Henry by  
his sons,  
&c.

<sup>60</sup> See Brady's Hist. vol. I. Append. n. 61, 62.

<sup>61</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 37.

A. D. 1173

fect submission to his authority—and his friendship was courted by all the princes of Europe. But, notwithstanding all these fair appearances, he was really on the very brink of ruin. A mine was ready to be sprung under him, which threatened his destruction. This mine was formed by his own family, who were the objects of his strongest affection, and of whom he had merited the warmest returns of gratitude and duty. His eldest son Henry had some good, but many bad qualities. In particular, he was fond of flattery, extravagantly expensive; and his vanity and ambition were both unbounded<sup>62</sup>. Being crowned at the age of fifteen, he became impatient to reign independent of his father. This impatience was inflamed by his mother queen Eleanor (who was enraged at her husband on account of his gallantries), by her uncle Ralfe de Faye, by his father-in-law the king of France, and, in a word, by all who were about his person, or had any share in his favour<sup>63</sup>. By these an unnatural conspiracy was formed for dethroning Henry the father, and investing young Henry with all his authority. This plot was conducted with great secrecy; and besides the king of France, several foreign princes were engaged in it, by extravagant grants made to them by the young king;—as William the Lion, king of Scotland, to whom were granted the counties of Cumberland and Northumber-

<sup>62</sup> Topographia Hiberniæ Distinct. 3. l. 49, 50. p. 752.

<sup>63</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 27.

land;

land;—Philip earl of Flanders, to whom was granted the earldom of Kent;—his brother Matthew earl of Boulogne, to whom were granted the county of Mortain in Normandy, and some lands in England;—and Theobald earl of Blois, to whom were granted an annuity, and all Henry's estates in Touraine<sup>64</sup>. Many of the most powerful barons, both in England and in all the provinces on the continent, were brought to join in this conspiracy, together with the two young princes, Richard and Geoffrey<sup>65</sup>.

The last hand was put to this plot when young Henry resided in the court of France, in the end of the preceding year; and on his return from thence, he demanded of his father the immediate and entire possession either of the kingdom of England, or of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine. On receiving a refusal to this demand, he was at no pains to conceal his discontent; and from thenceforward behaved in the most offensive manner to his too indulgent father. Of this it will be sufficient to give one example. Humbert earl of Maurienne and Savoy, being in the English court at Limoges in the beginning of this year, contracted his eldest daughter Adelais to prince John, king Henry's youngest son, February 2d, and in that contract granted all his dominions to the prince, if he died without male issue, and a very considerable part of them, even though he should leave a son. King Henry being asked by

Undutiful  
behaviour  
of young  
Henry to  
his father.

<sup>64</sup> Benedikt. Abbas, p. 50, 51.

<sup>65</sup> Id. p. 51, 52, 53.

A.D. 1173.

the earl, what establishment he designed to make for his son, proposed the three castles of Loudun, Chinon, and Merebeau. But to this he could not by the most earnest entreaties procure the consent of the young king, who totally disregarded all his father's solicitations, though in favour of his brother, and for so small a share of so great an inheritance<sup>66</sup>.

Young  
Henry  
flees from  
his father.

On this king Henry removed several persons from about his son, who he imagined gave him bad advice, and placed others, of whom he had a better opinion, in their room. But this had no other effect, than to hasten his flight into France, which he accomplished about the middle of Lent. His afflicted father pursued him as far as Alençon; but finding he could not overtake him, and beginning to apprehend what soon after happened, he applied himself with great diligence to put his frontier towns and castles in the best posture of defence<sup>67</sup>.

The con-  
spiracy  
breaks  
out.

The flight of the young king was the signal of rebellion to all who were engaged in this conspiracy. He was soon after followed by his two brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, and by a prodigious number of the barons of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and other countries<sup>68</sup>. Even queen Eleanor meditated a flight to the court of her former husband, from whom she had been divorced; but being apprehended in disguise,

<sup>66</sup> Benedict. Abbas. p. 46.

<sup>67</sup> Id. p. 47. Trivet Chron. ann. 1173.

<sup>68</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 27.



she was kept in strict confinement<sup>69</sup>. The defection from king Henry the father on this occasion became so great that he knew not whom to trust; and the world in general gave him up for lost.

A. D. 1173.

Wife conduct of king Henry.

Though the spirit of this brave prince was wounded in the most tender part by the revolt of his own children, and of many on whom he had bestowed the greatest benefits, it was so far from being broken, that he never displayed greater activity, wisdom, and valour, than at this trying juncture. He sent ambassadors to the court of France to expostulate with Louis for encouraging and supporting his sons in their rebellion;—he wrote accounts of this event to all the princes of Europe;—he solicited the Pope to launch the thunders of the church against his undutiful children, and their accomplices;—he dispatched letters to all the governors of his towns and castles, to be upon their guard, and prepare for their defence;—and to all his barons in whom he had any confidence, to be in readiness with their followers; and he took no fewer than twenty thousand Brabançons (a kind of soldiers of fortune) into his pay<sup>70</sup>.

It soon appeared that none of these precautions were unnecessary. For immediately after Easter the flames of war broke out at once in many different places. The king of France, with

Open war in many places.

<sup>69</sup> Gervas Chron. p. 1424.<sup>70</sup> R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 306, 307. P. Blefins Epist. 153. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 27.

A. D. 1173.

young Henry, at the head of a prodigious army, entered Normandy on one side, and invested Verneuil. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne entered it on the other, and laid siege to Aumale; while the rebellious barons of Anjou, Maine, Aquitaine, and Brittany, took the field, and desolated the royal demesnes in these provinces<sup>71</sup>. Nor did England enjoy greater tranquillity. For the king of Scotland invaded Cumberland, besieged Carlisle, and destroyed the adjacent country with fire and sword; while the vassals of the rebellious earl of Leicester, and others, appeared in arms in the centre of the kingdom<sup>72</sup>.

Remarkable events of this war on the continent.

In the midst of all these dangers Henry continued serene and cheerful, waiting at Rouen with his Brabançons, and a few of his faithful barons, for an opportunity to act with efficacy; trusting much to the strength of his fortified places, and to the fidelity and valour of his garrisons. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne appeared at first the most formidable of his enemies, having taken in a short time the towns of Aumale, Neuchatel, and Driencourt. But at the last of these places the earl of Boulogne received a wound in his knee, of which he died in a few days; and his brother the earl of Flanders was so much affected with grief at this disaster, and with remorse for the unnatural war in which he was engaged, that he retired out of Normandy with his own troops, and those of

<sup>71</sup> W. Neubigen. l. 2. c. 27.<sup>72</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 54.

Boulogne.

**Boulogne** <sup>73</sup>. Delivered from those dangerous enemies on that side, Henry began to think of acting offensively against his other foes. With this view he marched from Rouen to attempt the relief of Verneuil, which had been bravely defended, but was now reduced to great distress for want of provisions. The king of France treated the first reports of his approach with scorn, as thinking them incredible. But when he found them real, he raised the siege, and retired into his own territories, August 9th, with such precipitation, that he left his camp a prey to his enemies. The French barons were so much discouraged with this ill success, that, the legal time of their service being ended, they disbanded <sup>74</sup>. The defection of the barons of Brittany had been the most general, and they had done the greatest mischief; and therefore Henry, immediately after the dissolution of the French army, detached a great body of his brave and trusty Brabançons into that province, who defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, August 20th, and shut up all the chiefs of them in the castle of Doll, to which they had fled for refuge. As soon as Henry received this agreeable news, he set out from Rouen, and, travelling all night, arrived at Doll next morning, and pressed the siege with so much vigour, that the earl of Chester, the baron de Fougères, and about a

<sup>73</sup> R. Hoveden, Annal. p. 306. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 28.

<sup>74</sup> Id. ibid.

A.D. 1173.

hundred other nobles, were obliged to surrender at discretion, August 26th, and were sent to different prisons<sup>75</sup>. The news of these events struck such terror into the rebellious barons in the other provinces, that they dismissed their followers, and retired to their castles. Thus were all the numerous enemies of Henry on the continent dissipated in a few months, with little loss or labour.

Events of  
this war in  
Britain.

Nor were his adversaries in Britain more successful. For Richard de Lucy, chief justiciary, took the town of Leicester, July 28th, which belonged to Robert de Bellomont, earl of Leicester, the king's most inveterate enemy, who was then with the young king in France. After this, marching northward, with Humphrey de Bohun high constable of England, and other loyal barons, they compelled the king of Scotland, who had committed the most horrid ravages in the northern counties, to retire into his own dominions; into which they followed him, and would probably have committed equal ravages, if they had not received intelligence, that the earl of Leicester had landed near Walton castle in Suffolk, October 17th, with an army of Flemings. Carefully concealing this intelligence from the king of Scots, they concluded a truce with that prince to the feast of St. Hilary; and marching into the south with great expedition, encountered and defeated the earl of Leicester's army

<sup>75</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 29.

near St. Edmondsbury, November 1st, taking that earl, with his countess, and several noble-men prisoners <sup>76</sup>. Thus ended this active campaign, in a manner equally glorious and happy to the elder Henry; who, in December, concluded a truce with the kings of France and Scotland, from the feast of St. Hilary, to the end of the Easter holidays next year <sup>77</sup>.

A. D. 1173.

Though the operations of war were suspended for some months, by the truce and the season of the year, preparations for it were going forward. The confederates resolving to make the most vigorous efforts, especially against England, formed the following plan for the operations of the next campaign. While the king of Scotland invaded the northern counties, the young king Henry, with the earl of Flanders, whose ambition had conquered his remorse, were to land in the south, at the head of a powerful army of Flemings; and several English earls, who had been perverted from their duty, were to rise with their followers in different counties, to increase the public confusion. To detain the elder Henry on the continent, the king of France (accompanied by the two young princes, Richard and Geoffrey) was to invade Normandy with all his forces <sup>78</sup>.

A. D. 1174.  
Plan of the  
conspira-  
tors for  
this cam-  
paign.

In consequence of this well-concerted plan, the king of Scotland, at the expiration of the

Opera-  
tions of  
the war.

<sup>76</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 69, 70. M. Paris, p. 89.

<sup>77</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 72. <sup>78</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 31, 32.

truce,

A. D. 1174.

truce, entered England with a great army, and spread terror and desolation over all the northern counties; while David earl of Huntingdon, brother to the king of Scots, Robert earl of Ferrers, Hugh Bigot earl of Norfolk, Roger de Mowbray, and the numerous vassals of the two powerful earls of Leicester and Chester, took the field at the head of their followers in their respective counties. If the young king, with the earl of Flanders, had landed at this time, England must have submitted to their authority. But by their delays the whole scheme was disconcerted. Richard de Lucy, with some loyal barons, made head against the rebels in the centre of the kingdom; while the well-affected nobility of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, commanded and animated by Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln, king Henry's natural son by the fair Rosamond, defeated Roger de Mowbray, and put a stop to the progress of the king of Scotland, obliging him to retire nearer to his own dominions<sup>79</sup>.

Arrival of  
Henry in  
England,  
and visit  
to the tomb  
of T. Bec-  
ket.

When things were in this posture, king Henry, having put his territories on the continent in the best state of defence, embarked at Barfleur, July 8th, and landed that evening at Southampton, bringing with him the two queens, Eleanor and Margaret, with the captive earls of Chester and Leicester. Influenced by motives, about which we can only form uncertain guesses, he hastened

<sup>79</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 307, 308. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 32. Benedict. Abbas, p. 73, 74. Anglia Sacra, l. 2. p. 378, 379.

to Canterbury, to perform his devotions at the shrine of Thomas Becket, who was now esteemed the guardian of the English nation, and was become the favourite object of their adoration. Having spent a whole day and night in prostration, fasting, and prayer, before the tomb of Becket, and exposed his naked shoulders to the flagellations of the monks, he received absolution, and set out for London; where he arrived, July 13th,—a day distinguished by one of the most memorable and happy events of his reign—the captivity of the king of Scotland<sup>80</sup>.

A. D. 1174.

That prince had invested Alnwick castle; and fancying himself secure from the approach of any enemy, had sent out the bulk of his forces in three different bodies, to plunder the adjacent countries, retaining only his household troops about his person, to restrain the excursions of the garrison. The famous Ranulph de Glanville, then sheriff of Yorkshire, afterwards chief justiciary of England, receiving intelligence of this state of things, collected a choice body of about four hundred knights, with which he arrived at Newcastle in the evening of July 12th. Here he halted a few hours to refresh his men and horses, and marching about day-break, approached very near the enemy's camp next morning, quite undiscovered, under the cover of a thick fog. When the fog cleared up, Alnwick castle was seen at a small distance, and the king

King of  
Scotland  
taken prisoner.<sup>80</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 35.

A.D. 1174.

of Scots, with about seventy knights, engaged in the fashionable exercise of tilting in a neighbouring field. The king was not in the least alarmed at the sight of these armed troops, believing them to belong to his own subject Duncan earl of Fife. Even when he discovered that they were enemies, he was so far from attempting to save himself by flight, that shaking his spear, and crying to his attendants, "it will now be seen who is a good knight," he boldly advanced to the attack. But his horse being killed in the first encounter, he was thrown to the ground and taken prisoner; at which his followers were so much confounded that they either fled or yielded.

Consequences of that event.

Henry being awakened from his sleep at midnight, by the messenger who brought the news of this event, leapt from his bed, and wept for joy, commanding all his friends to be called to him immediately, and all the bells of London to be rung to proclaim the happy tidings<sup>81</sup>. Nor was this excessive joy without foundation. For the captivity of the king of Scots blasted all the schemes of the confederates, and put an end to the troubles of England almost in a moment. The Scotch army immediately retired, and the several corps of which it was composed quarrelling amongst themselves, gave their enemies ample revenge for the injuries they had done them. The rebellious barons laboured to anticipate one

<sup>81</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 23. 25. Benedict. Abb's, p. 77, 78. R. Hoveden, p. 308, 309.

another



another in making their submissions, and giving up their castles; and young Henry, with the earl of Flanders, who were ready to sail with a great fleet and army, no sooner heard of these events, than they laid aside all thoughts of an invasion.

A. D. 1174.

The king of France having summoned all his nobility to attend him, with their followers, marched at their head, and sat down before Rouen, the capital of Normandy, July 21st, where he was soon after joined by young Henry and the earl of Flanders, with all their forces, which enabled him to push the siege with great vigour, and without intermission. But the city was defended with equal vigour, by the inhabitants, and several loyal barons, who had thrown themselves into it with their vassals, and repelled all the open assaults of the besiegers, and also defeated an attempt that they had made to take it by surprise, on St. Laurence's day, August 10th, when a truce had been proclaimed<sup>82</sup>.

The king  
of France  
besieges  
Rouen.

Henry, hearing of the danger of his Norman capital, and having settled his affairs in England, embarked at Portsmouth, August 7th, with his Brabançons, and a thousand Welsh, whom he had taken into his pay; carrying with him the king of Scots, and the two potent earls of Chester and Leicester; but leaving the two queens behind him. He met with a favourable passage, and landed next day at Barfleur, having

Henry re-  
turns to  
Norman-  
dy, and  
raises the  
siege of  
Rouen.

<sup>82</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 36.

A. D. 1174.

spent no more than one month on this most fortunate expedition, by which he saved his kingdom from the most imminent danger. Committing his royal and noble captives to prison at Falaife, he marched towards Rouen, which he entered by the bridge over the Seine, on Sunday, August 11th, and was received with every possible demonstration of joy. Next morning he commanded the gate towards the enemy's camp, which had been walled up, to be opened, and the ditch to be filled; and sent his Welsh troops into the neighbouring woods, who were so fortunate as to take a large convoy of provisions. The besiegers now despairing to take the city, became anxious about their retreat, in order to which the king of France sent ambassadors to propose a conference to be held at Malauny, and a truce for two days; to both which Henry consented. Under the protection of this truce, Louis marched his army through the Green Forest; but instead of halting at Malauny to attend the conference, he pursued his march with great precipitation into his own territories<sup>83</sup>.

Henry concludes an honourable peace.

Though the king of France had escaped from a dangerous situation by this dishonourable stratagem, he was now convinced that all his efforts to ruin Henry would be in vain, and might end greatly to his own disgrace. He therefore seriously proposed a conference to be held at a place between Tours and Amboise; where an

<sup>83</sup> R. de Diceto, col. 579. J. Brpmpt. col. 1098.

end

end was put to this unnatural war, September 29th, by a peace, of which Henry prescribed the terms. By this peace the formidable confederacy against him was dissolved, and all who had been engaged in it released from their oaths. His three rebellious sons threw themselves at his feet, implored his pardon, and acknowledged his authority as a father and a king; and he assigned them appointments for their support, more suitable to his own generosity than to their merits. All prisoners were set at liberty on both sides, and restored to their estates, except the king of Scots, and the earls of Leicester and Chester, with whom a separate peace was to be made. A total oblivion of all injuries on both parts was declared, and young Henry agreed to confirm all the grants that had been made by his father during the war<sup>84</sup>.

Thus did this great prince, by his wisdom, valour, activity, and good fortune, baffle all the attempts of a powerful combination, which seemed to threaten him with inevitable ruin. Nor was his lenity on this occasion less conspicuous than his other virtues. He set at liberty, without any ransom, no fewer than nine hundred and sixty-nine noblemen and gentlemen; and even those few who were excepted out of this pacification were not treated with severity. The kingdom of Scotland, after the captivity of its

Great lenity of king Henry.

<sup>84</sup> Benedi<sup>ct</sup>. Abbas, p. 87—92. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 38. R. Hoveden, p. 309, 310. Rymer Fœdera, p. 37, 38.

A. D. 1174.

king, became a scene of the most deplorable anarchy and confusion, which made that prince and his nobility willing to submit almost to any terms to procure his liberty; and Henry very prudently embraced this opportunity of reducing both to a feudal subjection to the crown of England. On this single condition a peace was concluded at Falaife, December 8th, and the king of Scots engaged that he and his successors, kings of Scotland, together with all their prelates and barons, should do homage and swear fealty to Henry and his successors, kings of England; for the due performance of which, in the first instance, certain hostages were given, and the king was set at liberty <sup>85</sup>.

A. D. 1175.

Henry's  
kind treat-  
ment of  
his sons.

Henry, who was a very fond indulgent parent, was so much delighted with the recovery of his sons out of the hands of his enemies, that he treated them, not only with the greatest kindness, but with the greatest confidence; giving to the young king a commission in Normandy; to prince Richard in Poitou; and to prince Geoffrey in Brittany, to command the forces of these provinces, for executing the late treaty, by dismantling certain castles belonging to their own adherents <sup>86</sup>.

Seemingly  
perfect re-  
concilia-  
tion be-  
tween

When the time approached for their returning into England, young Henry began to betray some fears (which are said to have been suggested

<sup>85</sup> Rymer Fœdera, l. i. p. 39, 40.

<sup>86</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 95—97.

by messages from the king of France) that his father might treat him with greater severity, and even put him in prison in that kingdom. But these fears being at length dispelled, he threw himself once more at his father's feet, in the castle of Bure, near Caen, April 1st, professing his sorrow for his former undutifulness, with many tears, and earnestly intreating him to allow him to do homage, and swear fealty, like his other subjects, as a token of his forgiveness. This was accordingly done; and Henry was so fully convinced of his son's sincerity and steadiness, that he sent him to the court of France (where he had been formerly seduced) to take his leave of his father-in-law; from whence he returned to his father at Cherburg; where they celebrated the festival of Easter; after which they embarked together at Barfleur, and landed, May 9th, at Portsmouth<sup>87</sup>. For some time after their landing, the two kings constantly eat together at the same table, and even slept together in the same bed<sup>88</sup>, to convince the world of the cordiality of their reconciliation. In order to make the terms of the late pacification more firm and better known, they were read and ratified in a great council or parliament held at Westminster, May 20th, in which young Henry renewed his homage, and repeated his oath of fealty to his father<sup>89</sup>. After this king Henry the father (ac-

A. D. 1175;  
Henry and  
his eldest  
son, and  
their re-  
turn to-  
gether into  
England.

<sup>87</sup> Diceto, col. 585, 586. Benedict. Abbas, p. 96, 97.

<sup>88</sup> M. Paris, p. 91.

<sup>89</sup> Diceto, col. 588.

A. D. 1175.

accompanied by the young king) made a progress into those parts of the kingdom, where the defection of the nobility had been most general, to see their castles demolished, and to punish them by heavy fines for their transgressions of the forest-laws; in which he seems to have had two ends in view,—the replenishing his own treasury, which was much exhausted,—and impoverishing his disloyal subjects<sup>90</sup>.

King and nobility of Scotland do homage to Henry and his son.

In this progress the two kings were met at York, August 10th, by William king of Scotland, with all the prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders of his kingdom, who, according to the convention at Falaise, did homage to both kings, and swore fealty, first to king Henry the father, and then to king Henry the son, saving their fealty to the father; on which their hostages were set at liberty<sup>91</sup>. Thus was this important transaction of the feudal subjection of the crown and kingdom of Scotland to the crown and kingdom of England completed.

King of Connaught submits to Henry.

At the return of the two kings from their northern progress, they held a great council at Windsor, about Michaelmas, where a treaty was concluded with the ambassadors of Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, by which that prince agreed to hold his kingdom of the king of England, and to pay by way of tribute the

<sup>90</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 112.

<sup>91</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 113—110. R. Hoveden, p. 312. M. Paris, p. 91.

tenth hide of all the cattle killed in his dominions<sup>92</sup>.

A. D. 1175.

Since their return from Normandy, Henry had kept his son almost continually in his company, with a view to gain his affections by the kindest and most respectful treatment, as well as to instruct him in the arts of government. But this soon became irksome to the young king, who ardently desired to be at a distance from so grave a monitor, that he might enjoy greater liberty. With this view he frequently solicited his father to give him leave to pay a devotional visit to St. James of Campostella. The king for some time resisted these solicitations; but at length was obliged to yield to the teasing importunity of his son, who was waiting at Portsmouth for a fair wind, when his two brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, landed at Southampton, on Good Friday. This brought Henry back to court to visit his brothers; and his father prevailed upon him to accompany his brother Richard into Poitou, to assist him in reducing the refractory barons of that province: and on that expedition he sailed from Portsmouth, April 19th<sup>93</sup>. But as soon as he reached the continent, he paid little regard to his father's injunctions, or his own engagements, spending his time in the company of those who had been his greatest confidants in his former revolt. Henry, informed of his son's suspicious conduct,

A. D. 1176.

Henry sends his three sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, into Poitou.

<sup>92</sup> Rymer Fœdera, p. 41, 42. Benedict. Abbas, p. 122—126.

<sup>93</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 140, 141.

A. D. 1176.

endeavoured to guard against its consequences, by demolishing some of the castles of those barons who had been engaged in the late rebellion, and taking others of them into his own possession<sup>94</sup>.

A. D. 1177.

Though Henry was under a necessity of diminishing the power of some of his barons who were of doubtful loyalty, he took much greater pleasure in pardoning, when he imagined it would be productive of a good effect. Of this he gave the clearest proof, in pardoning the two potent earls of Leicester and Chester, who had been excepted out of the late pacification, and restoring to them their great estates, in a parliament held at Northampton in January this year<sup>95</sup>.

Great  
council at  
Marlbo-  
rough.

In another great council held at Marlborough, about Candlemas, orders were given to all the sheriffs to make a strict inquiry into the number of knights fees in their respective counties; and a proclamation was issued to all who held of the king by knights service, to attend him at London, May 1st, with their horses and arms, in order to an expedition into Normandy<sup>96</sup>. But the report of these preparations seems to have rendered the use of them unnecessary.

Disputes  
between  
the kings

Henry was no less famous over all Europe for his wisdom and justice as a judge, than for his

<sup>94</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 317.

<sup>95</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 320. Benediſt. Abbas, p. 166.

<sup>96</sup> Id. Benediſt. Abbas, 170, 171.



power and greatness as a king; which engaged Sanchez king of Navarre, and Alphonso king of Castile, to make a reference to him of all their differences, which had been the occasion of long wars and much bloodshed. In consequence of this, both these princes sent the most learned and eloquent advocates to plead their cause, which was solemnly heard in a great council held at London, March 13th, and determined in a manner perfectly agreeable to both parties<sup>97</sup>: a transaction more honourable to Henry than many victories.

A. D. 1177.  
of Castile and Navarre, determined by Henry in a parliament at London.

Much important business was transacted in another great council held at Oxford, in May, at which the princes and chief lords of Wales attended; and did homage to Henry for their territories and estates. In this council he declared his youngest son prince John lord of Ireland, to be held by him and his heirs, as a fief under the crown of England; and distributed the conquered countries in that island, to such of his barons as he thought most deserving, and most able to defend and enlarge these conquests<sup>98</sup>. About this time queen Margaret (confort of young Henry), who had secretly withdrawn from England, was delivered of a son at Paris, who died soon after his birth<sup>99</sup>.

Transactions of a parliament at Oxford.

A new subject of dispute, which continued long, and was attended with the most important

Henry's voyage to Norman.

<sup>97</sup> Benedict. Abbas, l. 1. p. 172—195. Hoveden. Annal. p. 321—323. Rymer Fœdera, l. 1. p. 43, 44.

<sup>98</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 206—209.

<sup>99</sup> Hoveden, p. 324.

A. D. 1177.  
dy. In-  
terview  
with the  
king of  
France,  
&c.

consequences, now broke out between the king of France and the king of England. By one of the articles of the peace concluded between these two monarchs at Montmirail, January 6th, A. D. 1169, it was agreed, that prince Richard, Henry's second son, should marry the princess Adelais, Louis's youngest daughter; and that princess was soon after delivered to Henry, to be educated in the court of England<sup>100</sup>. As both the parties were now become marriageable, Louis insisted that their marriage should be consummated without delay; to which Henry (who is said to have contracted a criminal affection for the princess) discovered a reluctance, which could never be overcome. Louis, finding all his own applications ineffectual, prevailed upon the pope to interpose his authority, who threatened to lay all Henry's dominions under an interdict, if he did not immediately allow the marriage to be completed. To ward off this blow, he embarked at Portsmouth, August 17th, and had an interview with the king of France, at which a legate from the pope was present, September 21st; in which he managed matters with so much art, as to prevent the interdict, and elude the immediate completion of his son's marriage, by consenting to take upon him the cross, and engaging to go (in company with Louis, who

<sup>100</sup> Epist. J. Sarisburie, apud Epist. S. T. Cantuarien, l. 2. p. 66. Epist. 268.

took upon him the cross at the same time) on an expedition into the Holy Land <sup>101</sup>.

A. D. 1177.

Though Henry had taken the cross, it is not very certain that he ever seriously intended to conduct an army into the Holy Land, as he always had recourse to excuses when he was urged to perform that engagement. Having spent the first six months of this year in regulating the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his continental dominions, he landed, July 15th, in England, and there employed his time to the same beneficent purposes. On August 6th, he knighted his third son Geoffrey, with great solemnity, at Woodstock; who soon after went abroad to display his valour and dexterity in tournaments, emulous of the fame which his two elder brothers, Henry and Richard, had acquired in those fashionable exercises <sup>102</sup>.

A. D. 1178.

Henry returns to England. Knights his son Geoffrey, &c.

The frequent absences of Henry from his kingdom, were attended with many ill effects, and, in particular, encouraged some of his sheriffs, foresters, and other officers, to venture upon acts of tyranny and oppression, which they durst not have attempted under the eye of their sovereign. Being now at leisure, he called many of these delinquents to a severe account, and made several new arrangements for the better administration of justice, which will be more

A. D. 1179.

Henry punishes several sheriffs.

<sup>101</sup> Hoveden. Annal. p. 326. Benedict. Abbat, l. 1. p. 230—244.  
<sup>102</sup> Id. ibid. p. 266.

A. D. 1179.

properly delineated in the third chapter of this book <sup>103</sup>.

A. D. 1180.

Henry returns to Normandy. Composes the disputes in the royal family of France.

Henry's attention was again called to the continent by some important changes that had lately happened in the royal family of France. Louis VII. having been seized with a palsy, his only son Philip, a youth of about fifteen years of age, was crowned, with his consent, and took upon him the administration of affairs; in which he was wholly directed by Philip earl of Flanders. At the instigation of this prince, the young king treated his own mother queen Adelais, and her three brothers, the earls of Blois and Sancerre, and the archbishop of Rheims, with so much severity, that they retired into Normandy, and implored the protection of the king of England <sup>104</sup>. On this occasion Henry acted a very noble part. Instead of fomenting the discord in the royal family of France, as Louis had done in his, he laboured to restore its peace. In order to this, he made a voyage into Normandy, and had an interview with king Philip at Gisors, in which he reconciled that prince to his mother and uncles, on reasonable terms, in spite of all the opposition made to it by the earl of Flanders. In this interview also he renewed the peace with Philip that he had made with Louis about three

<sup>103</sup> Diceto, col. 605. Petri Blesens. Epist. 95.<sup>104</sup> Hoveden, p. 339. Benedict. Abbas, p. 325, 326.

years

years before, and concluded with that prince an alliance for their mutual defence <sup>105</sup>.

A. D. 1180.

When Henry had settled all his affairs in Normandy, and was ready to embark for England, he received an embassy from the young king of France, earnestly intreating his assistance to compose the differences which had again broke out in his court and family. In consequence of this intreaty he returned to Gisors, and once more allayed the storm that raged with great violence in the court of France, between the parties of the queen-mother and the earl of Flanders; after which he embarked at Cherburg, and landed at Portsmouth, July 26th <sup>106</sup>.

A. D. 1181.

Henry returns to England.

As all Henry's extensive dominions now enjoyed a profound peace, he thought it the best time to provide for their future security and defence. With this view he published his famous assize of arms, as it is called, a regulation so wise and useful, that it was immediately adopted by several other nations. By this law every earl, baron, and knight, was to have constantly in his possession as many complete suits of armour (each suit consisting of a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance) as he had knights fees. Every freeman who had rents or goods to the value of sixteen marks, was to have one suit of the same armour; every freeman who had only ten marks, was to have a habergeon, a cap of

Henry's assize of arms.

<sup>105</sup> Rymer Fœdera, l. 1. p. 53, 54. Id. ibid. p. 325—329.

<sup>106</sup> Id. ibid. p. 263, 264.

iron,

A. D. 1181.

iron and a lance; and every free burgher was to have a wambois, a cap of iron, and a lance. These arms were neither to be lent, sold, pawned, nor given for payment of debt, but kept in constant readiness for use<sup>107</sup>.

A. D. 1182.

Henry returns to Normandy, and again composes the differences in the court of France.

Henry was again called to the continent by the disputes in the court of France, which had now broken out into a civil war. But he was for some time prevented from making that voyage by contrary winds, and did not land in Normandy till about Midlent. Having procured an interview after Easter with the king of France, and the heads of the two contending parties, he once more restored tranquillity to that distracted court and kingdom<sup>108</sup>.

Henry's kindness to the duke of Saxony his son-in-law.

While he was engaged in this beneficent transaction, so worthy of a great and good king, he received the melancholy news of the expulsion of his son-in-law, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, from all his territories, by the united forces of the emperor and empire. About the end of July, that unhappy prince, his afflicted consort, his infant family, and a few faithful friends, who had not abandoned them in their distress, arrived in Normandy; and were received by Henry with the most soothing tenderness. On the duke and his family he settled a maintenance suitable to their rank and his affection; and on their faithful attendants he be-

<sup>107</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 365—368. Hoveden, p. 351.

<sup>108</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 373, 374.

flowed valuable presents, and procured them permission to return to their native country <sup>109</sup>.

A. D. 1182.

Nor was this his only domestic uneasiness at this time. For his eldest son Henry, who had spent much of his time, for several years, in frequenting tilts and tournaments, attended by an expensive retinue of knights, importunately demanded the cession of Normandy to enable him to reward his followers; and meeting with a refusal, retired into France in violent discontent. But by frequent messages, and generous offers of an establishment of one hundred pounds of Anjouvine money a-day for himself, ten pounds of the same money for his consort, and suitable rewards for one hundred knights, he prevailed upon him to return, and profess his satisfaction with this appointment <sup>110</sup>.

Henry prevents a rupture with his eldest son.

Henry was earnestly desirous of increasing and perpetuating the harmony which now subsisted in his family, and amongst his sons, by adding the feudal ties, which were then esteemed inviolable, to those of blood. At Angers, in the beginning of this year, he held an assembly of his nobles; in which he proposed, that his sons, Richard and Geoffrey, should do homage to their eldest brother Henry, for their respective territories of Aquitaine and Brittany, that they might be engaged to support one another by the mutual obligations established by that ceremony. Geoffrey complied with his father's will, and did

A. D. 1183. Rupture in the royal family of England.

<sup>109</sup> Benedict, Abbas, p. 272.

<sup>110</sup> Id. p. 278. 310.

homage

A.D. 1183.

homage to his brother for Brittany; but Richard rejected the proposal with so much haughtiness, that it occasioned an immediate and most violent animosity between him and his eldest brother. These fiery spirits immediately flew to arms, and the war was carried on between them with so much rancour, that no quarter was given on either side. Their afflicted father for some time did not interpose. But at last, observing that his second son Richard was in danger of being overpowered by the united forces of his two brothers, and of some powerful barons of Aquitaine, who had revolted, he raised an army, and marched to his relief. This brought on a treaty between the contending parties near Limoges, which was managed with great duplicity on the part of the two associated brothers; and the elder Henry, suspecting no harm when engaged in a negotiation with his own children, was twice in danger of being killed.<sup>111</sup>

Death of  
young  
king Hen-  
ry.

During this negotiation, the mind of young Henry was agitated—by the most violent rage against his brother Richard—by the strongest resentment against his father for interposing in his behalf—and by the most tormenting uncertainty, whether to venture a battle or submit to peace. At length he was persuaded by his brother Geoffrey, and the revolted barons of Aquitaine, to hazard a battle. But the horror attending this unnatural resolution, added to his other pas-

<sup>111</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 385, &c.

sions,



sions, threw him into a fever. When his physicians acquainted him, that they had no hopes of his recovery, his soul was seized with bitter remorse and anguish for his repeated rebellions against his indulgent parent, to whom he sent a message, expressing his repentance, and earnestly intreating a visit. Henry, prevented from complying with this request by the representations of his friends, took a ring from his finger, and sent it to his son as a mark of his forgiveness. The dying prince received it with much emotion, and pressing it to his lips, soon after expired (June 11th) on a heap of ashes, where he had commanded himself to be laid, with a halter about his neck, and in fearful agonies of mind<sup>112</sup>. When Henry was assured of his son's death, all his fortitude of mind and strength of body failed him. He fainted away thrice; after which a flood of tears coming to his relief, he broke out into loud lamentations, extolling the beauty, bravery, and other good qualities of the departed prince, and forgetting all his faults<sup>113</sup>. On the death of young Henry, his army disbanded, his confederates hastened to make their submissions, and the public tranquillity was restored.

Henry, after the death of his eldest son, became desirous of making some new arrangements in the disposal of his territories amongst his sur-

A. D. 1183.

A. D. 1184.  
Fresh disputes between

<sup>112</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 392, 393. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 7. R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 354.

<sup>113</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 394.

A. D. 1184.

Henry and  
his sons.He returns  
to Eng-  
land. Ex-  
pedition  
into  
Wales, &c.

viving sons, which unhappily gave rise to new disputes in his family. As Richard was now become heir apparent to the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy, his father proposed that he should resign Aquitaine in favour of his youngest brother John. Richard required a few days to consider of this proposal; at the end of which he returned a refusal in the strongest terms, declaring, that no man should ever possess Aquitaine while he lived<sup>114</sup>. Henry, much offended at this refusal, placed his favourite son John, now seventeen years of age, at the head of an army, in hopes of terrifying Richard into a compliance, and in the mean time went himself into England, where he landed June 13th<sup>115</sup>. The Welsh had committed some ravages on the English borders during the king's absence; but as soon as he approached their territories with an army, their prince, Rees ap Griffin, waited upon him, and made the most humble submissions. While he was engaged in this expedition, he received the unwelcome news, that an actual war had broken out between his sons abroad: on which he sent messengers, commanding them to dismiss their forces, and come to him immediately; which none of them dared to disobey. At their arrival, Henry held a great council of his prelates and nobility at London, November 30th, in which his three sons were publicly re-

<sup>114</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 404.<sup>115</sup> Id. p. 406.

conciled.

conciled. After which Geoffrey was sent back to the continent, and the other two remained in England <sup>116</sup>.

A. D. 1184.

Queen Eleanor, who had been several years in a state of confinement, was set at liberty on the arrival of the duke and duchess of Saxony, with their family, in England, in the summer of the preceding year, and now lived on decent terms with her royal consort, when the king's ambassadors brought the emperor's permission to the duke of Saxony to return into Germany, with hopes of being restored to some part of his dominions; which diffused the greatest joy over the English court. When Henry was in good humour on account of this agreeable news, he yielded to the solicitations of his son Richard, and permitted him to return into Aquitaine, and then set out on a progress into the north of England <sup>117</sup>.

A. D. 1185.  
English court in a state of tranquillity.

When Henry had reached Nottingham, in his way to York, he was overtaken by a messenger, with the news, that Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, was arrived in England. On which he returned, and received him at Reading. The patriarch, falling at the king's feet, accosted him in this pathetic strain: "The Lord Jesus Christ, O king! calls thee, and the people of God intreat thee, to come to the defence of the Holy Land; and in their name I present thee with the royal standard, with the keys of

The patriarch of Jerusalem arrives in England, and endeavours to excite Henry to an expedition into the Holy Land.

<sup>116</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 415.

<sup>117</sup> Id. p. 432.

" the

A. D. 1185. " the city of Jerusalem, and of the sepulchre of  
 " our Lord. Come, O great prince! and rescue  
 " us out of the hands of our enemies; for in  
 " thee, under God, we place all our hope and  
 " confidence." The king raised the patriarch  
 from the ground, and promised to consult with  
 his prelates and nobles on the subject of his peti-  
 tion<sup>118</sup>. A great council was accordingly held  
 at London, on the first Sunday of Lent; in  
 which, after long deliberation, it was agreed,  
 that it was more proper for Henry to stay at  
 home, and govern his own dominions, than to  
 go on so distant an expedition; and that he  
 should consult with the king of France before he  
 gave a final answer to the patriarch; but that  
 such prelates, nobles, and others, as pleased,  
 might take the cross<sup>119</sup>: a liberty which too  
 many embraced.

Henry  
 grants  
 Hunting-  
 ton to the  
 king of  
 Scotland,  
 and sends  
 his son  
 prince  
 John into  
 Ireland.

Henry  
 goes into  
 Norman-  
 dy, and re-  
 duces his

Another council was held at Windfor, April  
 1st, in which Henry made a grant of the county  
 of Huntingdon to William king of Scotland, who  
 was present; and having solemnly knighted his  
 own youngest son prince John, he sent him into  
 Ireland, with a considerable army<sup>120</sup>.

The king of England's presence was now be-  
 come very necessary on the continent, to extin-  
 guish a fresh war that had broken out between  
 his two restless and ambitious sons, Richard and

<sup>118</sup> Benediſt. Abbas, p. 434. R. Hoveden, p. 359.

<sup>119</sup> Diceto, col. 626. Benediſt. Abbas, p. 435.

<sup>120</sup> Id. ibid. Hoveden, p. 359. Expugnat, Hibern. l. 2. c. 35.

Geoffrey;

Geoffrey; and therefore, embarking at Dover, April 16th, he landed at Whitsand, and from thence went by land into Normandy, where he immediately raised an army. But, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with his own children, he sent a message to prince Richard, commanding him to lay down his arms, and resign the dutchy of Aquitaine to his mother queen Eleanor, to whom it belonged; threatening, that if he did not obey, that princess should appear at the head of an army, and take possession of it by force. Richard, by the advice of his wisest friends, complied with this command; and coming to his father, was again received into favour <sup>121</sup>.

A.D. 1185.  
son Rich-  
ard to  
obedi-  
ence.

After this, Henry had a consultation with the king of France, on the affairs of the Holy Land, at which Heraclius was present. But neither of these princes could be prevailed upon to undertake a croisade in person, though they both promised very considerable aids in men and money, with which the patriarch was far from being contented <sup>122</sup>.

Henry  
hath a  
confer-  
ence with  
the king  
of France  
about the  
Holy  
Land.

Prince John's expedition into Ireland this year was unsuccessful, owing to the imprudent and insolent behaviour of the prince himself, and of the young nobility in his retinue, to the Irish chieftains, by which the well-affected were disgusted, and the disaffected were confirmed in

ill success  
of prince  
John's ex-  
pedition  
into Ire-  
land.

<sup>121</sup> Benedikt. Abbas, p. 436.

<sup>122</sup> Id. p. 437.

A.D. 1185. their opposition<sup>123</sup>. Having therefore squandered away a great sum of money, and lost the best part of his army, he returned into England, December 17th, leaving the chief direction of affairs in Ireland to the brave John de Curcy.

A.D. 1186.

Henry, after holding a conference with the king of France, returns into England.

A few days before the beginning of Lent this year, Henry had an interview with Philip king of France at Gisors; in which some disputes that had arisen about the dowry of queen Margaret, widow of young king Henry, were amicably adjusted; and Henry also solemnly engaged no longer to delay the marriage of his son Richard with the princess Adelais<sup>124</sup>. But he found means to elude the fulfilling of this engagement, by sending his son to prosecute a war, the causes of which are not mentioned, against the earl of Thoulouse, while he himself came over into England, where he landed April 27th.

Death of prince Geoffrey.

Henry's second surviving son Geoffrey, not contented with the duchy of Brittany, petitioned his father for the earldom of Anjou; which was refused. Irritated at this repulse, and being naturally of a restless intriguing disposition, he retired to the court of France, and engaged in very criminal machinations against his royal father, and the peace of his dominions. But, while he was thus employed, he was seized with a fever, occasioned by the bruises he had received in a tournament, and died at Paris, August

<sup>123</sup> Expugnat. Hibern. l. 2. c. 35.

<sup>124</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 444.

19th<sup>125</sup>. Though an excessive fondness for his children was one of Henry's greatest failings, he was not much affected with the news of his death; as he was no stranger to his restless deceitful character, and the pernicious schemes in which he was engaged:

A.D. 1186.

Geoffrey left only one daughter, an infant, who was the innocent occasion of a breach between the kings of France and England. For Philip sent ambassadors to Henry, claiming the guardianship of the heiress of Brittany, and the government of her dominions during her infancy; and threatening to declare war against him, if these things were not granted. Though this claim was ill founded, Henry, being averse to an immediate rupture, sent ambassadors to the court of France, who procured a truce to the beginning of the next year, which was afterwards prolonged to Easter<sup>126</sup>.

Dispute between Henry and the king of France, about the guardianship of the heiress of Brittany.

Henry, desirous of avoiding a war with the king of France, embarked for Normandy, February 20th, and held two conferences with that prince, in the months of March and April; but without effect: Philip being much irritated, and with good reason, that the marriage of his sister with prince Richard had not been completed; and that Henry kept that princess in a kind of captivity in England<sup>127</sup>. War being

A.D. 1187. War between Henry and Philip concluded by a truce.

<sup>125</sup> Diceto, col. 630.

<sup>126</sup> Hoveden, p. 361. Benedict. Abba, p. 453.

<sup>127</sup> Gervas Chron. col. 1486.

A. D. 1187. now unavoidable, both kings took the field at the head of very great armies; and, after various operations of less importance, they were on the point of engaging in a general action, June 21st, when the pope's legates, who were in the king of England's army, interposed their good offices, and brought about a truce for two years <sup>128</sup>.

Undutiful  
behaviour  
of prince  
Richard.

After the conclusion of this truce, prince Richard visited the king of France, in his camp, and from thence accompanied him to Paris, and contracted so intimate a friendship with him, that it surprised the whole world, and greatly alarmed his father, who sent frequent messages, intreating him to return, and promising to deny him nothing that he could reasonably desire. The prince, after various delays, at length promised to comply; but when he was on his way, he seized a considerable treasure of his father's at Chinon, with which he went into Poitou, and began to fortify his towns and castles. Though Henry could not but be much offended at this undutiful behaviour, he still pursued the method of negotiation; and at last prevailed upon Richard to come to him at Angers; where he repeated his oaths of fealty and allegiance before a great assembly <sup>129</sup>.

Birth of  
Arthur  
duke of  
Britanny.

In the mean time Constantia duchess-dowager of Britanny was delivered of a posthumous son, March 29th; who, at the request of the nobles

<sup>128</sup> Gervas Chron. col. 1500. Benedict. Abbas, p. 467, 468.

<sup>129</sup> Id. p. 471.



of that duchy, was named Arthur; and his mother was appointed guardian of his person and dominions, under the protection and superintendency of his grandfather Henry<sup>130</sup>.

A. D. 1187.

Towards the end of this year the melancholy news arrived from the Holy Land, that the Christian army had been entirely defeated, and the city of Jerusalem taken, by the famous Saladin sultan of Egypt; which filled all Europe with consternation, and excited many princes, and, amongst others, Richard Plantagenet prince of England, to take the cross<sup>131</sup>.

Prince Richard takes the cross.

Though Henry had often promised to conclude the marriage of his son Richard with the princess Adalais, he still delayed, on various pretences, the consummation of that marriage. At this her brother Philip king of France was greatly irritated, and raised an army with a design to compel him to fulfil his promise, or to deliver up the lady, together with Gisors and its territories. To avert this storm, he had an interview with Philip, near Gisors, January 21st; at which William archbishop of Tyre, ambassador from the Christians in the holy Land, was present, and represented their deplorable situation in such affecting strains, that the two kings, forgetting the original intention of their meeting, took the cross from the hands of the archbishop;

A. D. 1188. The kings of England and France, &c. take the cross.

<sup>130</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 7.

<sup>131</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 362—365. Benediſt. Abbas, p. 471—493. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 17, 18.

A.D. 1182.



Henry re-  
turns to  
England,  
and makes  
prepara-  
tion for a  
croisade.

in which they were imitated by the earl of Flan-  
ders, the earl of Champagne, and many other  
nobles <sup>132</sup>.

Henry hastened into England, where he landed  
January 31st, to make preparations for his expe-  
dition into the East, and held a great council of  
his prelates and barons at Gritington in North-  
amptonshire, February 11th; in which a tenth  
of all rents for one year, and a tenth of all  
moveable goods, except the books of the clergy  
and arms of the laity, were granted to defray  
the expences of the intended croisade. But all  
who took the cross were exempted from the pay-  
ment of these taxes. Even with this exemption,  
one hundred and thirty thousand pounds were  
raised; a sum equal in efficacy to two millions of  
our present money <sup>133</sup>. Baldwin archbishop of  
Canterbury preached, before this assembly, a  
very pathetic sermon, on the mystery of the holy  
cross, and persuaded prodigious numbers of pre-  
lates, nobles, knights, and others, to enlist in  
this holy war. With the same intention, and no  
less success, he afterwards made a progress  
through Wales <sup>134</sup>.

War  
breaks out  
on the

While great preparations were making in Eng-  
land, for the projected expedition into the East,

<sup>132</sup> Itinerarium Gaufr. Vinifauf. l. 1. c. 17. Benedict. Abbas,  
p. 495, 496. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 23.

<sup>133</sup> Hoveden, p. 366. Benedict. Abbas, p. 496, 497. Gervae  
Chron. col. 1529.

<sup>134</sup> Vide Itinerarium Cambriae, apud Camden, Anglica Normannica,  
&c. p. 820, &c.

a war broke out on the continent, between the earl of Tholouse and prince Richard duke of Aquitaine, which was attended with the most fatal consequences, though it proceeded only from a trifling dispute about some merchants. The earl of Tholouse, seeing many of his towns taken, and his capital threatened with a siege, implored the protection of his sovereign the king of France; who warmly espoused his cause, and marched at the head of a great army, into the king of England's territories in Berry, where he took several towns. Henry, astonished at the news of this unexpected invasion, sent ambassadors to expostulate with that prince, and, if possible, to prevent a war. But these ambassadors were ill received, and returned without any satisfactory answer; which obliged Henry to hasten to the continent, where he landed July 11th, and immediately retaliated the hostilities of the king of France<sup>135</sup>.

A. D 1188  
continent  
in which  
Henry en-  
gages.

This war was very disagreeable to the earl of Flanders, and to several other princes, who were impatient to proceed on their expedition into the Holy Land; and, at their request, the two kings held one conference in October, and another in November. In the last of these conferences, a scene opened that involved the king of England in great perplexity and distress, from which he never recovered. At this conference, the king of France (who had made a private agree-

Confer-  
ence be-  
tween the  
kings of  
England  
and  
France, in  
which  
prince  
Richard  
forfeakes  
his father  
and joins  
the king of  
France.

<sup>135</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 503—516.

A.D. 1188.

ment with prince Richard) proposed to put an end to the war, and restore all his conquests in Berry, on these two conditions,—that the marriage of his sister Adelaïs and Richard should be immediately consummated—and that all Henry's subjects in England and on the continent should do homage to Richard as the heir of all his dominions. The prince declared his entire satisfaction with these proposals, earnestly pressing their acceptance; and when they were rejected by Henry, Richard, in the presence of the whole assembly, went over to Philip, and did homage to him for Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Berry, and Aquitaine<sup>136</sup>. After this transaction the conference broke up in great confusion,

A.D. 1189.  
Death of  
Henry II.

As soon as the season of the year permitted, king Philip, accompanied by prince Richard, and many barons of Normandy and Aquitaine, who had revolted with that prince, invaded Henry's territories with fire and sword<sup>137</sup>. About Easter hostilities were suspended, and a conference appointed by the influence of the pope's legate, who had been sent into France to attempt the reconciliation of the two kings. In this conference, which was held, at la Ferté Bernard, June 5th, Philip made the same proposals as formerly; but prince Richard added another, That his brother John should accompany him to the Holy Land, that he might not have an opportunity of supplanting him in his absence,

<sup>136</sup> Benedict, Abbas, p. 527.

<sup>137</sup> Id. p. 534.

All these conditions being equally disagreeable to Henry, they were rejected by him, and the war was renewed with great fury: but that prosperity and good fortune which had long attended this great prince, now forsook him, and he was obliged to flee before his enemies<sup>128</sup>. In this reverse of fortune, when he was pursued from place to place by his eldest son Richard, he was basely abandoned by his youngest and favourite son John, who deserted to his enemies. This last event, added to all his other causes of chagrin, gave a mortal wound to his affectionate heart, and threw him into a fever, of which he died, at Chinon, on Thursday July 6th, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the fifty-seventh of his age<sup>129</sup>.

A. D. 1189.

Thus died Henry II. who was certainly the greatest and most accomplished prince that had filled the throne of England since the Norman conquest, and inferior to very few of our princes in any period. In his person (which is very minutely described by several contemporary writers), he was of middle stature, remarkably strong and active, but inclining to corpulency, which he guarded against by abstemiousness and continual exercise. His countenance was comely, and his eyes had a mild lustre, except when he was angry; and then they were uncommonly fierce and sparkling. In the very last years of

His character.

<sup>128</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 25. Hoveden, p. 372.

<sup>129</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 546. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 25.

his

A.D. 1189. his life he mounted a horse with greater agility, and rode with greater spirit, than any of his courtiers, either in hunting or on a journey. In his deportment he was exceedingly polite and affable, except to persons of a haughty spirit and carriage, whom he delighted to humble. His conversation was pleasant and facetious; his elocution easy, eloquent, and graceful. His heart was warm, and his passions strong, which rendered him an ardent lover, but not a faithful husband,—a zealous friend, but formidable enemy,—a kind master, and too indulgent parent. His understanding, which was naturally good, was improved by an excellent education, under his uncle the earl of Gloucester, by assiduous reading of the best books, particularly history, and by frequent conversation with the wisest men; by which means he became the most learned prince and the greatest politician of the age in which he flourished. His memory was so tenacious, that he remembered almost all he read or heard, and never forgot a face he had once seen. He avoided war from principles of prudence and humanity; but when it became necessary, he carried it on with so much courage, conduct, and activity, that he constantly baffled all the schemes of all his enemies. In the arts of peace he greatly delighted and excelled; being a strict and vigorous, but not unmerciful justiciary, a munificent patron of learning and learned men, and a great encourager of the arts, expending immense sums in fortifying towns and castles, repairing

repairing old and building new palaces, and adorning them with gardens, parks, and fish-ponds. In a word, one of his greatest enemies acknowledges, "That he was endowed with so many excellent qualities, both natural and acquired, that there was no prince in the world comparable to him"<sup>140</sup>.

A. D. 1118

THE internal history of Wales, in this period, consists of a prodigious number of battles, skirmishes, mutual invasions, depredations, and murders, between the petty princes of its several principalities; a minute relation of which would swell this work, without affording either entertainment or instruction to its readers<sup>141</sup>.

History of Wales.

Malcolm IV. surnamed *the Maiden*, mounted the throne of Scotland about a year before the accession of Henry II. to that of England; and being a prince of a feeble constitution and pacific temper, was ill qualified for contending with that powerful and enterprising neighbour. Accordingly he relinquished the northern counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, without a struggle, to Henry; and in an interview with that prince at Chester, A. D. 1157, he did homage to him for the county of Huntington, with a saving of his royal dignity<sup>142</sup>. Malcolm

History of Scotland.

<sup>140</sup> Epist. S. Thom. l. 1. ep. 103. Epist. Petri Blefenf. ep. 65. Hibern. Expugnat. Girald. Cambren. l. 1. c. 45. J. Sarisburiens. de Nugis Curialium, l. 6. c. 18.

<sup>141</sup> See Powel's Hist. Wales, p. 205—240.

<sup>142</sup> Chron. Mailros, ann. 1157.

A D 1159. accompanied Henry in his expedition against Tholouse A. D. 1159, and was knighted by him in the city of Tours. But this complaisance of his to the English monarch was very disagreeable to many of the Scotch nobility, who gave him a very indifferent reception on his return to Scotland; and the few remaining years of his reign were disturbed by frequent insurrections<sup>143</sup>. Malcolm died of a lingering disease, at Jedburgh, December 9th, A. D. 1165; and was succeeded by his brother William, surnamed *the Lion*, whose wars with England, captivity, and submission to pay homage, and hold his kingdom of Henry, have been already mentioned. After William recovered his liberty, A. D. 1174, he reduced the people of Galloway, who had revolted in the time of his captivity, and obliged Gilbert, the lord of that country, to do homage to the king of England, and to himself<sup>144</sup>. Though the yoke to which this king of Scotland had submitted to regain his freedom, was, no doubt, very galling both to himself and to his subjects, he made no attempt to throw it off; but lived in constant peace and amity with the king of England; and was married to Ermingard, a near relation of that monarch, at Woodstocke, September 5th, A. D. 1186<sup>145</sup>. As William survived Henry II. more than twenty-five

<sup>143</sup> Chron. Mailros, ann. 1157. Buchan. Hist. p. 124.

<sup>144</sup> Benedict. Abbas, ann. 1176.

<sup>145</sup> Id. ibid.



years, the most important and fortunate events of his reign will be related in the next section of this chapter. A. D. 1189.

## SECTION IV.

*The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the accession of Richard I. A. D. 1189, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.*

**R**ICHARD, the eldest surviving son of Henry II. having paid the last honours to the remains of his illustrious father, with marks of contrition for his former undutiful behaviour, and having also settled the affairs of his foreign dominions, landed at Portsmouth, August 13th, and was crowned at Westminster, September 3d<sup>1</sup>. Accession and coronation of Richard I.

This solemnity occasioned a prodigious concourse of people from all parts of England. Amongst others, many wealthy Jews came to London, to consult with their brethren in that city about making a free gift of great value to the king on his accession. Richard had issued a proclamation, that none of that people should presume to enter either the church or Westminster-hall on the day of his coronation. Some of them being detected pressing into the hall, were assaulted at first with opprobrious language, and afterwards

Slaughter of the Jews.

<sup>1</sup> Hoveden, p. 373, 374. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 1.

A.D. 1189.

with sticks and stones. The Jews, perceiving their danger, fled towards the city, pursued by an enraged mob; amongst whom a cry arose, that the king had given orders to put all the Jews to death. This cry proved fatal to many of that hated nation; who were massacred in the streets. Others, who retired to their houses, were either burnt in them, or slain in attempting to escape. The tumult gradually increased, and spread into all parts of the city. Hatred, inflamed by avarice and religious zeal, rendered the mob ungovernable; and all attempts to quell them were in vain, till wearied with slaughter, and overloaded with booty, they retired to secure their prey. The king, justly offended at this outrageous violation of the laws, and contempt of his authority, in the very beginning of his reign, commanded a few of the ringleaders of the mob to be hanged<sup>2</sup>.

First acts  
of Rich-  
ard's ad-  
ministra-  
tion very  
gracious.

Some of the first acts of Richard's government were gracious and beneficent. He was so far from discovering any resentment against those who had adhered to his father, and opposed himself; that he continued them in their places, and honoured them with peculiar marks of his royal favour. He immediately released his mother queen Eleanor from her long confinement, allowed her a considerable share of power, and, in particular, gave her authority to set all prisoners at liberty,

<sup>2</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 1. Bened. Abbas, p. 560. M. Paris, p. 108.

who

who were confined for transgressions of the forest-laws, and several other crimes. His brother prince John he loaded with riches and honours, bestowing upon him at once no fewer than eight castles, with the estates annexed to them, and the government or earldoms of seven counties<sup>3</sup>: favours that made him a formidable enemy, instead of an affectionate brother and obedient subject.

A.D. 1189

As Richard was the first prince in Europe who assumed the cross, on the news of the victories of Saladin over the Christians in the Holy Land; so his thoughts were chiefly employed at this time about collecting money, and making preparations of all kinds for his expedition into the East, in conjunction with the king of France. In his father's coffers at Winchester, he found a prodigious mass of treasure, amounting, according to some writers, to nine hundred thousand pounds, but according to others, only to ninety thousand pounds, in gold and silver, besides plate, jewels, and precious stones<sup>4</sup>. To this he added immense sums by the sale of the royal castles, manors, parks, woods, and forests. Nay, so great was his rage for money, that the highest honours, and most important offices, became venal. He even sold the superiority of the crown of England over the kingdom of Scotland,

Richard collects money, troops, &c. and embarks on his expedition into the Holy Land.

<sup>3</sup> Benedikt. Abbas, p. 555. R. Hoveden, p. 374. col. 1. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Benedikt. Abbas, p. 553. M. Paris, p. 107. col. 2. R. Hoveden, p. 374.

the

A.D. 1189.

the most glorious acquisition of his father's reign, for the paulty sum of ten thousand marks, equivalent to about one hundred thousand pounds of our present money<sup>5</sup>. By these and various other methods, some of them very dishonourable and unjust, Richard amassed a much greater treasure than had ever been in the possession of any king of England; which was all dissipated in this romantic expedition. While he was thus employed, Rotrow, earl of Perche, arrived in England in November, and acquainted him, that the king of France, with all his barons, had solemnly sworn, in a council held at Paris, that they would appear with their followers at Vezilay before the close of next Easter; requiring the like security from Richard and his barons, that they would appear at the same time and place; which was granted<sup>6</sup>. Having constituted William Longchamp bishop of Ely, and Hugh bishop of Durham, regents of the kingdom in his absence, he embarked at Dover, December 11th; and landed in the evening near Gravelines; from whence he marched through Flanders into Normandy<sup>7</sup>.

A.D. 1190.

An interview with the king of France for settling the

The monarchs of England and France, attended by their principal prelates and nobility, had an interview about the middle of January, at Gué St. Reme, to settle all the preliminaries of their

<sup>5</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 568. M. Paris, p. 109. Hovedell, p. 376. 378.

<sup>6</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 570.

<sup>7</sup> Id. p. 579.

intended

intended expedition. At this interview the two kings took a solemn oath of mutual friendship and defence, and agreed, that if either of them died on the voyage, the other should have his money and the command of his forces: and finding that it would not be possible to have all things in readiness against Easter, the general rendezvous at Vezilay was put off to Midsummer<sup>s</sup>. Richard held a great council on English affairs, February 2d, in which he obliged prince John and his natural brother Geoffrey, now archbishop of York, to swear, that they would not return into England for three years: but he afterwards imprudently released them from the obligation of that oath. After this council he dismissed William bishop of Ely (who had lately been appointed the pope's legate for England, Scotland, and Ireland), and sent him over to take upon him the government of his kingdom, and hasten the preparation of ships, men, and horses, for his expedition<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1190

prelimi-  
naries of  
their ex-  
pedition.

Many of the English who had assumed the cross, and were preparing for their voyage into the Holy Land, imagined it would be a good beginning of their pious enterprize, to murder as many Jews as possible, and seize their riches. In consequence of this imagination, many thousands of that devoted nation were butchered in cold blood, at Norwich, Stamford, York, and other

Massacres  
of the  
Jews.

<sup>s</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 583. R. Heveden, p. 379.

<sup>o</sup> Id. *ibid.*

A.D. 1190.

places, in the months of March and April this year<sup>10</sup>. The croifaders who were concerned in these cruel maffacres, made hafte to embark in their holy warfare, and thereby efcape the punifhment that they juftly deferved for their injufice and barbarity.

The kings  
of Eng-  
land and  
France  
arrive at  
Meffina  
with their  
armies,  
where  
they win-  
ter.

When the time appointed for the general rendezvous approached, the two kings put themselves at the head of their refpective armies, and marched towards the plains of Vezilay, where they arrived in the laft week of June. When their forces were united, they amounted to one hundred thoufand of the braveft troops of France and England<sup>11</sup>: an army that would have been invincible if the fcene of action had not been fo diftant. Instructed by the misfortunes of the leaders of former croifades, who had marched by land into the Eaft, they had wifely refolved to go by fea, and for that purpofe had provided fleets. From Vezilay the whole army decamped, July 1ft, and marched in one body to Lyons; where the two kings feparating, Philip, with his army, marched towards Genoa, where they were to embark, and Richard towards Marfeilles, where he expected his fleet; having, before they feparated, appointed their next rendezvous to be at Meffina in Sicily. Richard reached Marfeilles before the arrival of his fleet from England, which had been difperfed by a

<sup>10</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 7, 8, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Gaufred. Vinifauf. Iter. Hierofol. l. 2. c. 9.

ftorm;

storm; and becoming impatient of delay, he embarked with his household on board three large buffes and twenty galleys, August 7th, leaving directions to his army and fleet to follow him to the place of rendezvous as soon as possible<sup>12</sup>. The English fleet arrived at Marseilles August 22d; and sailing from thence with the army on board, about the end of that month, reached Messina September 14th; and, two days after, the French fleet, with Philip and his army, entered the same harbour; as king Richard also did, September 23d, in great pomp, with ensigns flying and trumpets sounding<sup>13</sup>. At this place the two kings wintered; Philip with his army in the city of Messina, and Richard with his army in the suburbs.

A.D. 1190

It was hardly to be expected, that two such numerous armies, composed of nations who had long been rivals, and often enemies, should remain six months in one place, without any disputes with one another, or with the people of the country. There were several such disputes happened at Messina in the course of this winter, which destroyed that sincere and cordial friendship between the two kings, so necessary to the success of their enterprise, and to which they were engaged by the most solemn oaths. Of this these two princes at length became sensible; and in order to extinguish the present, and prevent

Transactions at Messina.

<sup>12</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 590. 594. G. Vinisaut. l. 2. c. 10.

<sup>13</sup> M. Paris, p. 112, 113. Benedict. Abbas, p. 604, 605.

A.D. 1190.

Treaties  
between  
Richard  
and Tan-  
cred king  
of Sicily.

all future animosities, a treaty was concluded, in which, amongst many other articles, Richard was released from his obligations to marry the princess Adelais, king Philip's sister, to whom he had been long contracted <sup>14</sup>.

The king of England had also several causes of complaint against Tancred king of Sicily, who had lately usurped that throne, and detained queen Jane, king Richard's sister, and widow of William II. in prison, because she had opposed his usurpation; declining to pay her dower, and a valuable legacy left by William to his father-in-law, Henry II. But Tancred, finding himself in no condition to dispute any of these points with Richard at the head of so great an army, immediately released the queen-dowager, and sent her to her brother, with an offer of twenty thousand ounces of gold, as a full compensation for her dower, and an equal sum for the late king's legacy. These offers were accepted by Richard; who became so fond of Tancred, or of his treasures, that he contracted his nephew and heir, Arthur duke of Brittany, to one of that king's daughters, and received another twenty thousand ounces of gold as her marriage-portion <sup>15</sup>.

A.D. 1191.  
Queen  
Eleanor  
and the  
princess  
Beren-  
garia

King Richard had been long in love with Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, but did not think it prudent to marry her during his father's life, and while he was under engage-

<sup>14</sup> Rymer Fœd. t. i. p. 69.

<sup>15</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 612, 613.  
ments



ments to the princess Adelais<sup>16</sup>. At his setting out on his expedition into the East, he prevailed upon his mother queen Eleanor to accompany the princess of Navarre to Naples, where they arrived over land in February this year, escorted by the earl of Flanders; and it being improper on several accounts to bring them to Messina, they took up their residence at Brindisi, till after the departure of the king of France, who failed towards the Holy Land, March 30th. On the day after, queen Eleanor, with the princess Berengaria, landed at Messina; where the former staid only four days, and then embarked for England; but the latter was committed to the care of the queen-dowager of Sicily, who had resolved to accompany her brother into the Holy Land<sup>17</sup>.

A.D. 119  
arrive at  
Messina,  
from  
whence  
the king  
of France  
had failed

Richard, impatient to reach the seat of war, where he expected to gather many laurels, would not stay at Messina to celebrate his marriage, but sailed from thence, April 10th, with a gallant army, on board a fleet of about two hundred ships and galleys; which was unfortunately overtaken, two days after, by a violent storm. The king, with the greatest part of the fleet, put into a harbour in Crete; but missing three of his largest ships, in one of which his royal bride and his sister queen Jane had embarked, he sent in quest of them; and was soon informed, that two of these ships had been stranded on the coast

Richard  
sails from  
Messina.

<sup>16</sup> G. Vinifauf. l. 2. c. 26.

<sup>17</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 392.

A.D. 1197.

of Cyprus, and all their crew either drowned, or imprisoned by the sovereign of the country; and that the other, with the princesses on board, was riding before Limisso, the capital of the island, having been refused admittance into the harbour<sup>18</sup>.

Richard conquers Cyprus, and solemnizes his marriage with Berengaria.

Richard immediately sailed to Cyprus; and having received a haughty refusal to a respectful request for leave to enter the harbour of Limisso, from Isaac, a vain-glorious tyrant, who then reigned in Cyprus, and had assumed the pompous title of emperor, he landed his army, defeated the tyrant in two battles, and at length obliged him to surrender his person, his country, and a beautiful princess, his only child, to the conqueror. This important conquest detained him some time in Cyprus; where he solemnized his marriage with the princess Berengaria, May 12th, who was the same day crowned queen of England<sup>19</sup>.

Richard sails from Cyprus, and arrives at Acon.

While he was engaged in receiving the homage of the nobility of Cyprus, who made him a free gift of great value, he sent away the two queens, and the Cyprian princess (who is said to have made a conquest of her conqueror), with a part of his fleet and army, to join the Christian army at the siege of Ptolemais, or Acon; where they landed, June 1st. Having settled all the

<sup>18</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 393. R. de Diceto, col. 657. J. Brompt. col. 1197.

<sup>19</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 193, 194. Benedict. Abbas, p. 645—653. G. Vinisiauf. l. 2. c. 35.

affairs of Cyprus, and appointed Richard de Camville, and Roger de Turnham, governors of that island, he sailed with the rest of his fleet and army, taking a great Saracen ship in his passage, and arrived at Acon June 8th, to the great joy of the besiegers and dismay of the besieged<sup>20</sup>.

A.D. 1191.

The city of Acon had been invested about two years by the Christian army, composed of warriors from every nation in Europe, who had performed many glorious actions, and suffered many grievous calamities under its walls, which had been bravely defended by a very numerous garrison; while Saladin, with a powerful army, besieged the besiegers, and harassed them with continual combats<sup>21</sup>. On the arrival of the English army with their gallant leader, the siege, that had languished for some time, was pushed with the greatest ardour; the walls were battered night and day with various machines, the artillery of those times; frequent furious assaults were given; and the besieged, despairing of relief, agreed to surrender the city, July 12th, on the following conditions:—"That the garrison should be allowed to march out only in their shirts, leaving all their arms and baggage behind them:—That Saladin should restore the true cross, with two thousand five hundred of his Christian prisoners of the greatest note:—That he should pay to the two kings two hun-

Siege and  
surrender  
of Acon.<sup>20</sup> G. Vinisau. l. 3. c. 2.<sup>21</sup> Id. l. 2. c. 25—42.

A.D. 1191. "dred thousand pieces of gold, called *byzantines*,  
 " for his men which they had prisoners:—and,  
 " That the whole garrison should be detained  
 " as hostages till these conditions were per-  
 " formed<sup>22</sup>." Thus ended this famous siege,  
 after it had engaged the attention of all Europe  
 and Asia for two years, and had cost the lives of  
 six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, five  
 hundred barons, and three hundred thousand  
 other men<sup>23</sup>.

Tyranny  
 of Long-  
 champ,  
 chief justici-  
 ary of  
 England.

While Richard was making unprofitable con-  
 quests in the East, at a great expence of blood  
 and treasure, his subjects in England were suf-  
 fering great inconveniencies from his absence,  
 and the intolerable insolence of William Long-  
 champ bishop of Ely, to whom chiefly he had  
 delegated his authority.—That haughty prelate,  
 who had arisen from the very dregs of the people,  
 was so much transported with his unmerited ele-  
 vation, that he could endure no rival. He im-  
 prisoned Hugh de Pusey bishop of Durham, who  
 had been appointed chief justiciary beyond the  
 Humber, and obliged him to resign his castles  
 and his commission to obtain his liberty<sup>24</sup>. Pos-  
 sessed of all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, as  
 chancellor, chief justiciary, and papal legate, he  
 acted in the most arbitrary manner, bestowing all  
 preferments in church and state on his relations  
 and creatures, and using the revenues of the

<sup>22</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 653—663. Vinisau. l. 3. c. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Vinisau. l. 4. c. 6.

<sup>24</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 379.

crown as if they had been his own<sup>25</sup>. In his manner of living he exceeded the pomp of kings, never appearing in public without a retinue of fifteen hundred horsemen. Richard, informed of these enormities, while he resided at Messina, gave a commission to Walter archbishop of Rouen, William earl of Strigul, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briewere, and Hugh Bardolf, to be privy counsellors to the high justiciary, without whose advice he was to transact nothing of importance. But so terrible was Longchamp now become, that these noblemen had not the courage to show him their commission<sup>26</sup>.

A. D. 1119

The imperious regent had also a quarrel with prince John, the king's brother, which was terminated by his agreeing to take an oath, which was also taken by all the other prelates and nobles of the kingdom, that if the king should die beyond seas without issue, all the royal castles should be delivered to the prince<sup>27</sup>. But his animosity against Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, and archbishop of York, prompted him to such acts of violence against the immunities of the church and clergy, as proved fatal to his power and greatness. Geoffrey had been at Rome to procure the pope's confirmation of his election to the see of York; and on his landing at Dover, September 14th, was seized by the

Long-champ quarrels with prince John, and Geoffrey archbishop of York.

<sup>25</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 701.

<sup>26</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 392. col. 1. Diceto, col. 659.

<sup>27</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 694.

governor

A. D. 1191.

governor of the castle; but making his escape, took refuge in St. Martin's church; from whence he was violently dragged by Longchamp's orders, and imprisoned in Dover castle<sup>28</sup>.

Confederacy against Longchamp, by which he is expelled.

This outrageous insult on an archbishop, the son and brother of a king, together with the violation of the rights of sanctuary, excited universal indignation against the high justiciary, and gave his enemies a greater advantage than all his former acts of tyranny. Several bishops excommunicated all who had been concerned in the horrid deed. Prince John and the chief nobility had a meeting at Reading, October 5th, in which the king's commission to the archbishop of Rouen, and others, to be coadjutors to Longchamp, was produced; and he was summoned to attend another meeting at Lodbridge, three days after; but, instead of complying with that summons, he shut himself up in the tower of London. As this storm was unexpected, he had not laid in a sufficient stock of provisions to stand a siege; which obliged him to submit, and appear before the prelates and nobility; by whom he was deprived of his two great offices of chancellor and chief justiciary: and not being able to bear his fall with fortitude, he made his escape out of the kingdom, October 29th, in disguise<sup>29</sup>. Walter archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of great wisdom and virtue, acted as chief justiciary, with the

<sup>28</sup> Anglia Sacra, l. 2. p. 390, 391.

<sup>29</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 707. Hoveden. p. 400.

advice

advice of his colleagues, by virtue of the former commission; and the custody of the great seal was given to Benedict abbot of Peterborough, the historian<sup>30</sup>.

A. D. 1192.

Soon after the two kings of France and England had taken possession of Acon, the former began to intimate his intention of returning into Europe, pretending that the climate of Palestine did not agree with his constitution, and that his life would be endangered by a longer stay. This however was not the real, or at least not the chief, reason of his forming this resolution—Many disputes had arisen between the two monarchs at Messina and in the Holy Land, which made their union neither cordial nor agreeable—He beheld his own glory eclipsed by the superior splendour of Richard's achievements, which gave him great disgust—The earl of Flanders had died before Acon without issue, and he expected, by his presence in France, to secure a part, if not the whole, of his succession,—to say nothing of his intention to seize some of Richard's dominions in his absence. Great efforts were made to persuade him to stay longer; but they were ineffectual. Having renewed his engagements not to invade any of the territories of the king of England, while that prince continued in the Holy Land, or within forty days after his return home; and having left a considerable body of his troops under the com-

The king  
of France  
returns  
from the  
Holy  
Land.

<sup>30</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 18. Benedict. Abbas, p. 714. Hemmingford, l. 2. c. 58.

mand

A.D. 1191.

Opera-  
tions of  
the war in  
the Holy  
Land.

mand of the duke of Burgundy, he sailed from the port of Acon, with the rest of his fleet and army, August 1st, and landed in France a few days before the festival of Christmas, which he solemnized at his palace of Fountainbleau<sup>31</sup>.

Richard, after the departure of the king of France, having repaired the walls of Acon, marched from thence, August 25th, with the Christian army; to reduce the other cities on the sea-coast. The famous Saladin, at the head of a very numerous army, attended all their motions, and harassed them with perpetual combats, in which astonishing acts of valour were performed on both sides<sup>32</sup>. At length these two great armies, animated by the most implacable hatred, inflamed by religious zeal, and conducted by the two bravest leaders in the world, came to a general action, September 6th, which continued from morning to night; when the Turkish army was put to flight with great slaughter<sup>33</sup>. Saladin, after this defeat, despairing to be able to keep the field, and to defend so great a number of towns, dismantled Cæsarea, Ascalon, Joppa, and several others, and with their garrisons reinforced his army, and strengthened the garrisons of Jerusalem, and of the other towns he resolved to defend<sup>34</sup>. After this victory the Christian army proceeded on their march with little mo-

<sup>31</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 667—670. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 22. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 57.

<sup>32</sup> G. Vinisau. l. 4. c. 10—16.

<sup>33</sup> Id. ibid. c. 18—22.

<sup>34</sup> Id. ibid. c. 23.

lestation;



lation; and reaching Joppa, found it deserted, and almost quite demolished; and received intelligence that the enemy were acting the same part at Ascalon. A council of war was held, in which king Richard proposed to march to Ascalon with all possible expedition, and rescue it out of the hands of the Turks before it was demolished; but the duke of Burgundy, and the other French generals (who had been secretly instructed by their sovereign to thwart the king of England in all his designs), obstinately insisted on rebuilding Joppa; to which Richard reluctantly consented, and seven weeks were spent in that work<sup>35</sup>. In the beginning of November the Christian army marched from Joppa towards Jerusalem, rebuilding the ruined castles, as they advanced, and being also much retarded in their progress by heavy rains and frequent assaults of the enemy. But when they had overcome all these difficulties, and had reached the neighbourhood of the holy city, in the last week of this year, the Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans, joining with the French, opposed the besieging of it, at that time, with many specious arguments; and obliged Richard to return with his army towards Ascalon, to his own unspeakable mortification, and the great grief of many of the crusaders<sup>36</sup>.

The king of France, in his passage from the Holy Land, had visited Rome, and made bitter

A.D. 119

A.D. 1194.  
Conduct  
of the king  
of France,<sup>35</sup> G. Vinifaus. l. 4. c. 27—30.<sup>36</sup> Id. l. 5. c. 1, 2.

complaints

A.D. 1192.

after his  
return  
from the  
Holy  
Land, and  
his in-  
trigues  
with  
prince  
John.

complaints to the pope of many affronts and injuries which he pretended to have received from the king of England; earnestly intreating his holiness to release him from his oaths, that he might take vengeance on his enemy, by invading his dominions. But with this most shameful request the pope would not comply<sup>17</sup>. Not discouraged with this repulse, on his arrival in France, he made no secret of his resolution to violate all his oaths, in order to gratify his revenge, or rather his ambition. In a conference with the seneschal of Normandy, January 20th, he made a demand of Gisors, and its territories, threatening immediate war on receiving a refusal<sup>18</sup>. He engaged in dark intrigues with prince John, to whose profligate character he was no stranger, tempting him with an offer of all Richard's dominions on the continent, to join with him in the war against his absent brother; to which he would have consented, if he had not been dissuaded by his mother queen Eleanor, and deterred by the threats of the justiciaries of England to confiscate his estates. Though disappointed in these intrigues, Philip would have invaded Normandy, if he had not been prevented by his barons, who absolutely refused to follow him in so unjust an enterprise<sup>19</sup>.

Attempts  
of Long-  
champ to

The government of England was also much disquieted at this time, by the violent efforts of

<sup>17</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 720.

<sup>18</sup> Id. 27, 28.

<sup>19</sup> Id. p. 728.

William

William Longchamp, the expelled justiciary; who having gained the pope to espouse his cause, and renew his legantine commission, threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict, if he was not restored to all his former power. But by the prudence and firmness of the archbishop of Rouen, assisted by queen Eleanor, all his efforts were baffled <sup>40</sup>.

A.D. 1192  
recover his  
power de-  
feated.

While Richard's dominions in Europe were torn by factions and threatened with invasions, that prince was involved in the greatest difficulties and dangers in the Holy Land. No march was ever attended with more afflictive circumstances than that of the Christian army, in the beginning of this year, from Jerusalem to Ascalon, where they arrived, January 20th, much diminished and dispirited by storms, fatigue, and famine <sup>41</sup>. To complete their misfortunes, they found that place so completely ruined and deserted, that it afforded them neither food, lodging, nor protection. The reparation of it cost them three months incessant toil; from which the king himself was not exempted, who wrought with greater ardour than any common labourer <sup>42</sup>. Before this work was completed, the duke of Burgundy, with the French, Genoese, and all whom he could entice to follow him, separated from the army, and marched, first to Acon, and afterwards to Tyre <sup>43</sup>.

Proceed-  
ings of  
the Chris-  
tian army  
in the Ho-  
ly Land.

<sup>40</sup> Benedict. Abbas, p. 731.

<sup>41</sup> G. Vinifauf. l. 5. c. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Id. ibid. c. 6.

<sup>43</sup> Id. ibid. c. 10.

About

A. D. 1192.

King  
Richard  
prepares  
for his re-  
turn to  
England.  
His gene-  
rous be-  
haviour.

About the middle of April, the prior of Hereford arrived at Ascalon, with letters to the king from William Longchamp, acquainting him with the troubles in England, with his own expulsion, and with the machinations of prince John, and earnestly intreating him to return immediately, if he desired to preserve his crown<sup>44</sup>. Astonished at this intelligence, Richard called a council of all the princes and nobles in the Christian army, and communicated to them the news he had received, and the necessity of his return to England; to which they consented, on condition that he terminated the dispute between the two pretenders to the crown of Jerusalem, Guy de Louzignan and Conrade marquis of Montferrat, that they might know whom to follow, after his departure. On this occasion, Richard acted a very noble part, leaving the decision of that question to the members of the council; and when they declared in favour of Conrade, who had long been his open enemy, he confirmed their choice, and sacrificed his private resentment to the public peace<sup>45</sup>. Still further to secure the tranquillity of the army and the country in his absence, he generously bestowed the kingdom of Cyprus on Guy de Louzignan, the other competitor for the crown of Jerusalem: a valuable gift, which he and his posterity enjoyed almost three centuries.

<sup>44</sup> G. Vinisau. l. 5. c. 22.<sup>45</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 23, 24.

Conrade

Conrade was transported with joy when he received the news of his election, and hastened to Ascalon to be crowned. But he was unhappily murdered, April 28th, on the streets of Tyre, by two desperadoes, who had been sent for that purpose, by the prince of the Assassines; or, as he was commonly called, *The Old Man of the Mountain* <sup>46</sup>. The murderers were both apprehended; and were so far from denying, that they gloried in what they had done, declaring, that it was in obedience to the commands of their lord, the Old Man of the Mountain, to revenge an injury he had received from Conrade. Yet so malevolent and shameless was the king of France, that he calumniated Richard as the author of that assassination, and pretended to dread a like attempt upon his own person <sup>47</sup>.

A.D. 1191.

Conrade king of Jerusalem killed, of which Richard is unjustly accused.

On the death of Conrade, Henry earl of Champagne married his widow, and was declared king of Jerusalem; who, being nephew to Richard, brought back the French and their confederates to join the Christian army at Ascalon, under that prince; who had lately taken the strong fortress of Darum from the Turks <sup>48</sup>. The Christian army being assembled, a resolution was taken to make another attempt on the city of Jerusalem; and they began their march from Ascalon, June 6th, and in five days reached Belinople (within

Further proceedings of the Christian army in the Holy Land.

<sup>46</sup> G. Vinisau. c. 26.

<sup>47</sup> Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 71. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 24, 25.

<sup>48</sup> G. Vinisau. l. 5. c. 39.

A.D. 1192. about four miles of that city), where they encamped a month waiting for the troops they expected to join them from Acon. In this interval king Richard surprised, and took a Turkish caravan, with immense wealth in gold, silver, silk, spices, sugars, and other precious commodities<sup>49</sup>. When all the forces were collected, a council of war was held, in which, after long deliberation, and many angry disputes, it was concluded not to attempt the siege of Jerusalem at that time; and the French with their confederates again separating from the army, Richard conducted his own troops, and all who chose to follow him, to Acon, where they arrived July 26th<sup>50</sup>. From thence he proposed to embark for England; but before all things were ready, he received the melancholy news that Saladin had invested Joppa with a prodigious army, and that the garrison must fall a sacrifice if he did not come to their relief. Deeply affected with their distress, he gave orders to the army to march to Joppa by land, while he, with a chosen body of knights, went by sea; and by performing prodigies of valour, raised the siege of Joppa, and defeated the enemy in two actions<sup>51</sup>. But Richard soon after falling sick, and finding it impossible to persuade the French to return to the army, concluded a truce with Saladin for three years, three months, three weeks, three

<sup>49</sup> G. Vinisaut. l. 6. c. 4.

<sup>50</sup> Id. ibid. c. 3, 9, 10, 11.

<sup>51</sup> Id. ibid. c. 21, 22.

days,

days, and three hours; consenting to the demolition of Ascalon; but stipulating, that the Christians should retain all the other towns they possessed in Palestine, and be permitted to visit the holy places at Jerusalem<sup>52</sup>.

A. D. 1192.

Richard recovered slowly from his indisposition; and having sent away the queens of England and Sicily, with their attendants, he went, with a small number of select friends, on board a swift-sailing ship in the port of Acon, October 9th, followed by the tears, prayers, and benedictions of an infinite multitude of people, who had tasted his bounty and beheld his valour<sup>53</sup>. His voyage was most unfortunate; for after tossing several weeks at sea, he was shipwrecked near Aquileia; and attempting to pass through Germany in disguise, he was discovered in a village near Vienna, December 20th, and thrown into prison by Leopold duke of Austria; who, prompted by avarice or malice, respected neither his rank, nor the cause in which he had been engaged<sup>54</sup>.

King Richard embarks for England, is shipwrecked, and taken prisoner.

As soon as the emperor Henry VI. heard of the detention of the king of England, to whom he was an enemy, he claimed and obtained the royal captive, promising to pay Leopold sixty thousand pounds out of the expected ransom<sup>55</sup>,

A. D. 1193.  
Richard delivered to the emperor.

<sup>52</sup> G. Vinislauf. c. 27. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 61.

<sup>53</sup> Vinislauf. l. 6. c. 37.

<sup>54</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 31. Hoveden, p. 409. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 62. M. Paris, p. 121.

<sup>55</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 33. M. Paris, p. 121.

A.D. 1193.

Conspira-  
cy of the  
king of  
France  
and prince  
John de-  
feated.

In this ignominious manner was this illustrious prince, and great champion of Christianity, bought and sold, by those who could hardly invent a pretence for offering him any violence.

The king of France, transported with joy at the news of Richard's captivity, and forgetting all his oaths, hastened to make the utmost advantage of it, by invading his dominions,—by inviting prince John to join with him in sharing the plunder of his unhappy brother,—and by negotiating with the emperor to deliver up his royal prisoner to him, or to detain him in perpetual durance<sup>56</sup>. His negotiations with the emperor were unsuccessful. But prince John, regardless of all the ties of nature, of gratitude, and of the most solemn oaths, entered with eagerness into all the schemes of Philip, for the destruction of his brother and the division of his spoils. On his return from Normandy, where he had an interview with the king of France to settle their plan of operations, he besieged and took the castles of Wallingford and Windfor<sup>57</sup>. Coming to London, he gave out that his brother was dead, and required Walter archbishop of Rouen, chief justiciary, and his colleagues, to swear fealty to him, and perform the ceremony of his coronation. But his assertions being discredited, and his requisitions despised, the justiciaries raised an army, and prosecuted the war

<sup>56</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 34. Hoveden, p. 412.

<sup>57</sup> Hoveden, p. 412. Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 85.



against him with so much vigour, that they A.D. 1193.  
 compelled him to beg a truce; which was  
 granted, and he returned to his ally the king of  
 France<sup>58</sup>. That prince had been more successful  
 in his invasion of Normandy, where he met with  
 little opposition till he invested Rouen; which  
 was so bravely defended by the valiant earl of  
 Leicester, who had lately returned from the  
 Holy Land, that Philip was obliged to raise the  
 siege, and retire with precipitation. This repulse,  
 together with the threats of the pope to lay his  
 dominions under an interdict, engaged him to  
 listen to proposals for a suspension of hostilities;  
 and a truce was concluded July 9th<sup>59</sup>.

King Richard lost none of his usual courage,  
 or even cheerfulness, by his captivity. Though  
 he was at first treated with great indignity,  
 thrown into a dungeon from whence no man had  
 ever escaped with life, loaded with irons, and  
 surrounded day and night with armed men, his  
 countenance was serene, and his conversation  
 pleasant and facetious<sup>60</sup>.

Richard's  
undaunted  
deport-  
ment in his  
captivity.

As soon as queen Eleanor and the justiciaries  
 of England heard of his misfortune, they sent  
 the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert to attend  
 him; who, meeting him with his guards on the  
 road to Worms, where a diet of the empire was  
 soon to be held, were received by him in a man-  
 ner equally cheerful and affectionate. He asked

Negotia-  
tions for  
his de-  
liverance.

<sup>58</sup> Chron. Gervas, col. 1581. R. Hoveden, p. 413. col. 1.  
 Henningford, l. 2. c. 64.

<sup>59</sup> Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 81.

<sup>60</sup> M. Paris, p. 121.

A.D. 1193. them the state of his friends, his subjects, and his dominions; and particularly inquired after the health of the king of Scotland, on whose honour he said he entirely relied. On hearing of the base behaviour of his brother John, he was shocked, and looked grave; but presently recovering his good humour, he said with a smile, *My brother John is not made for conquering kingdoms*<sup>61</sup>. Many of the king's personal friends, as William bishop of Ely, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, &c. on hearing of his disaster, flew to his relief, and assisted in negotiating his deliverance. Queen Eleanor addressed several most mournful and pathetic letters to the pope, intreating and conjuring him to launch the thunders of the church against those impious princes who detained her heroic son, and who ravaged his dominions<sup>62</sup>.

Richard's noble behaviour before the diet of the empire.

The emperor, to wipe off some part of the odium he had brought upon himself by his conduct towards Richard, presented him before all the prelates and princes of the empire, in a diet held at Worms July 13th; and accused him,—of having protected Tancred, who had usurped the crown of Sicily,—of having made war on the emperor of Cyprus, a Christian prince, when he should have been fighting against the infidels,—of having driven the king of France out of the Holy Land by many injuries,—of having affronted the duke of Austria,—of having hired

<sup>61</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 411. col. 2. <sup>62</sup> Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 72—73.

affassins to murder the marquis of Montferrat,— and of having concluded a truce with Saladin on too easy terms. But Richard being permitted to speak for himself, answered all these accusations in so clear and full, and at the same time in so elegant and affecting a manner, that he not only convinced the whole assembly of his innocence, but drew tears from many of his noble hearers<sup>63</sup>.

A. D. 1193;

After this the emperor treated him with greater decency; and by the mediation of several princes, the negotiation for his freedom was concluded, July 31st, on the following terms:— that as soon as the king of England had delivered to the emperor one hundred thousand marks, Cologne weight, of pure silver, and had given hostages for other fifty thousand marks of the same weight and fineness, he should be set at liberty, and have a safe conduct to the port where he was to embark<sup>64</sup>. As soon as the king of France heard of the conclusion of this agreement, he sent a message to his confederate prince John, to take care of himself, for *the devil was unchained*<sup>65</sup>. The justiciaries of England raised the money for the king's ransom in a short time, by a scutage of twenty shillings on every knight's fee, a tallage on the boroughs and the royal demesnes, and by several other methods<sup>66</sup>. The money being collected, queen

Treaty for his deliverance concluded, and money for his ransom collected.

<sup>63</sup> M. Paris, p. 121, 122.<sup>64</sup> Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 84.<sup>65</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 415. col. 1.<sup>66</sup> Id. p. 417. col. 1.

**A.D. 1193.** Eleanor, and the archbishop of Rouen, set out with it for Germany, a little before Christmas, leaving the chief direction of affairs in England in the hands of Hubert formerly bishop of Salisbury, lately constituted archbishop of Canterbury and chief justiciary.

**A.D. 1194.** The terrors of the king of France, and of his friend prince John, redoubled as the time of Richard's release drew near, which engaged them to make a great effort to prevent what they so much dreaded. With this view they sent letters to the emperor, engaging to pay him one hundred and fifty thousand marks of pure silver, if he would detain Richard only one year longer<sup>67</sup>. With this magnificent offer the emperor, the most sordid and most mercenary of men, was not a little staggered, and began to make excuses and delays; but many of the princes of the empire, who had been guarantees of the agreement between him and Richard, insisting that it should be fulfilled, he found himself under a necessity of giving that prince his liberty, on February 24th, at Mentz, to the great joy of his mother queen Eleanor, and several of his nobles who were present to receive him<sup>68</sup>.

King Richard arrive in England, and takes the castle of Nottingham.

Having spent some days with his great friend the bishop of Cologne, he proceeded on his journey towards the port of Swine, at the mouth of the Scheld, where he embarked on board an English fleet, and landed at Sandwich, March

<sup>67</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 418.

<sup>68</sup> Id. *ibid*.

30th, after an absence of four years, three months, and nine days, in which he had experienced great variety of fortunes<sup>69</sup>. He was received at London with great demonstrations of joy, and such an ostentatious display of wealth, as astonished the German nobility in his train, and made one of them say,—“If our emperor “ had known the riches of England, your ransom, “ O king, would have been much greater<sup>70</sup>.” Having spent only three days at London, he hastened to put himself at the head of his army, besieging the castle of Nottingham, belonging to prince John; which surrendered at discretion, March 28th<sup>71</sup>.

AD. 1194

Here the king held a great council of his prelates and nobility, which began March 30th, and ended April 2d. On the second day of the council it was decreed, that if prince John did not appear before the king and his court within forty days, to answer for his conduct, all his estates in England should be forfeited<sup>72</sup>. On the third day a tax of two shillings on every hide of land was granted; and on the last several criminal processes were determined<sup>73</sup>.

Great council at Nottingham.

At this council it was resolved, that the ceremony of the king's coronation should be repeated, to wipe off the stain of his captivity; and the 17th of April was appointed for the day of the solemnity, at Winchester; where it was accord-

Richard crowned at Winchester, and refuses to admit the claim of the king

<sup>69</sup> W. Neubrigea. l. 4. c. 41,<sup>70</sup> Hemingsford, l. 2. c. 69.<sup>71</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 419.<sup>72</sup> Id. *ibid*.<sup>73</sup> Id. *ibid*.

ingly

A.D. 1194.  
 of Scot-  
 land to the  
 northern  
 counties.

ingly performed with great pomp<sup>74</sup>. William the Lion, king of Scotland, was present at the council of Nottingham, attended the king from thence to Winchester, and assisted at his coronation, earnestly soliciting a grant of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland; which was refused, but in the softest terms<sup>75</sup>.

Richard  
 collects  
 money,  
 and raises  
 an army,  
 with which  
 he sails to  
 the con-  
 tinent.

After his second coronation, Richard resumed many of the honours and estates which he had alienated before his departure for the Holy Land, alleging that they were absolutely necessary for the support of the crown, and that the purchasers of them had already indemnified themselves<sup>76</sup>. He prevailed upon the monks of the Cistercian order, by flattery and fair promises, to make him a present of a year's wool, and by various other arts replenished his empty coffers<sup>77</sup>. Receiving intelligence of the hostile intentions and preparations of the king of France, he collected his forces with all possible expedition, and embarking them at Portsmouth, on board a fleet of one hundred sail, he landed with them at Barfleur May 12th<sup>78</sup>.

Richard  
 pardons  
 prince  
 John.

Next morning his brother prince John suddenly entered his apartment, threw himself at his feet, and with many tears confessed his crimes, and implored forgiveness; with which Richard was so much affected, that he raised him from

<sup>74</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 42.

<sup>75</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 420.

<sup>76</sup> W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Id. *ibid*.

<sup>78</sup> R. Hoveden, p. 421.

the ground, embraced him in the most affectionate manner, and granted him a pardon; but did not immediately restore him to his possessions<sup>79</sup>.

A.D. 1194.

Taking the field with his army, he raised the siege of Vernueil May 29th, took the castle of Lochis June 13th, and gained a still greater advantage over his enemies July 5th, at Fretteval, where all the baggage and treasure of the king of France, together with his chancery, containing many valuable papers, fell into his hands<sup>80</sup>. From thence Richard marched his army into Guienne, which had revolted, and in the space of sixteen days reduced it to its former state of obedience and subjection<sup>81</sup>. But a stop was put to these military operations by a truce, which was concluded for one year by the plenipotentiaries of the kings of France and England, July 23d<sup>82</sup>.

Operations of the war with France suspended by a truce.

Richard employed this interval of tranquillity in making a very strict inquiry into the state of all the branches of the royal revenues. For this purpose he sent commissioners into every county of the kingdom, to make the necessary enquiries, and to levy the sums that should be found due to the crown on any account<sup>83</sup>. One object of this enquiry was, to raise the money that was still due to the duke of Austria for the king's ransom,

Richard's employment during the truce.

<sup>79</sup> M. Paris, p. 123. col. 2. Diceto, col. 673.

<sup>80</sup> R. Hoveden. p. 421. W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 2. <sup>81</sup> Id. ibid

<sup>82</sup> Id. ibid. c. 3. R. Hoveden, p. 422. <sup>83</sup> Id. p. 423, 424.

that

A. D. 1194.

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Duke of
Austria
sets Ri-
chard's
hostages at
liberty.

that his hostages might be redeemed; but he was unexpectedly relieved from the necessity of paying that money by the following event.

As the duke of Austria was tilting with his courtiers on St. Stephen's day, December 26th, his horse fell upon him, and crushed his foot in such a manner, that it threw him into a fever, and brought on a gangrene. When his physicians acquainted him that there were no hopes of his recovery, he was seized with remorse for the cruelty and injustice of which he had been guilty towards the king of England; and gave orders to set his hostages at liberty²⁴.

A. D. 1195.
War with
France re-
newed,
and ter-
minated by
a peace.

The late truce between the kings of France and England was not very well observed; and as soon as it expired, the war was renewed by Philip, who made an incursion into Normandy, plundering the country, and demolishing such castles as fell into his hands. Richard having collected his forces, marched to meet his enemies, and came up with them near Vaudreuil, where a negotiation was proposed by Philip, who during the continuance of it, secretly employed his troops in undermining the walls of that fortress. One day as the two kings were engaged in a conference, they were interrupted by a dreadful noise, occasioned by the fall of the greatest part of the castle of Vaudreuil, which at once discovered to Richard the artifice of his adversary, and inflamed him with the most violent resent-

²⁴ W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 2.

ment.

ment. He hastened to put himself at the head of his army, and to prepare for taking his revenge in a general engagement; but the French, who had all things in readiness for their march, retired with so much precipitation, that he could not overtake them⁸⁵. The war was prosecuted for some months after this with various success, but without producing any general action or important event; and was at length terminated by a treaty of peace concluded by the two monarchs in a personal interview on December 5th⁸⁶.

A.D. 1195.

While Richard was detained in his foreign dominions, the capital of England became a scene of the most violent factions, and of great confusion. This was owing to the unlimited influence which one William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called *Longbeard*, had obtained among the common people and inferior citizens of that metropolis; by declaiming, with great vehemence, on all occasions, against the tyranny of the king's ministers, and their oppressions of the poor. Though William was known to be a man of an abandoned character and ruined fortunes, yet by his learning, eloquence, and fair pretences, he gained such an ascendant over the minds of his followers, that they called him *the saviour of the people*, attended him with loud acclamations whenever he appeared in public,

A. D. 1196.
Tumults
in London
suppressed,
and the
author
Longbeard
executed.

⁸⁵ W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 15. Chron. J. Brompt. col. 1267.

⁸⁶ W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 17. Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 91.

and

A. D. 1196.

and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to execute all his orders. The streets were infested day and night by numerous mobs, who committed many disorders, insulted the richer citizens, and threatened them with destruction. Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and chief justiciary, summoned Longbeard to appear before the council; but he came, attended by such a prodigious multitude, that they were afraid to ask him any questions, and he returned in triumph into the city. After this the archbishop very prudently remained quiet, until the political enthusiasm of Longbeard's followers began to languish for want of opposition, when he sent a party of men into the city to seize his person. William made a brave defence, killed one of the party sent to apprehend him, and escaped, with his concubine, and a few of his accomplices, into the neighbouring church of St. Mary le Bow. But no regard was paid to the rights of sanctuary on this occasion. William was dragged out of the church, tried, condemned, and executed, before his partisans recovered from their surprise, or had time to form any scheme for his deliverance. After his death, however, they flocked in great crowds to the place of execution, took down the gallows on which he had been hanged, divided it into a thousand pieces, preserved and adored these pieces as the most precious relics, pretending that they wrought many miracles. But as these pretended miracles were not countenanced by the clergy,

clergy, to whom William had been no friend, they were soon forgotten⁸⁷.

A. D. 1196

The animosity between the kings of France and England was so violent, that it could not be restrained within the bounds of peace by the most solemn treaties. Some disputes having arisen in Brittany about the guardianship of the young duke of that country, who was now about nine years of age; Richard sent an army to support his title to that office; which was disputed by many of the nobility, who put themselves, their sovereign, and their country, under the protection of the king of France. Philip warmly espoused their cause, and another war broke out between him and Richard, which continued from Midsummer A. D. 1196, to September 17th, this year, when it was terminated by a truce, without having produced any events worthy of a place in history⁸⁸.

A. D. 1197
War with
France be-
gun and
ended.

While Richard found it necessary to continue on the continent to defend his dominions against his most inveterate enemy the king of France, England was governed with great wisdom, and preserved in perfect tranquillity, by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, who being both papal legate and chief justiciary, had great influence in all affairs civil and ecclesiastical⁸⁹. But though this kingdom enjoyed the blessing of peace, it

A. D. 1198.
Famine
and plague
in Eng-
land.

⁸⁷ W. Neubrigen, l. 5. c. 20, 21. Chron. Gervasii, col. 1591.

⁸⁸ Chron. Brompt. col. 1272, &c. W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 32.

⁸⁹ Gervas Acta Pontific. Cantuariens. col. 1679, &c.

A.D. 1198.

was grievously afflicted with famine, occasioned by a succession of cold and rainy seasons; and this famine at length brought on a plague, that raged with so much violence for six months, that there were hardly so many persons in perfect health as were sufficient to attend the sick and bury the dead, who were thrown into great pits as soon as they expired⁹⁰. A contemporary writer, who gives a very affecting account of this pestilence, observes, that the monasteries were the only places exempted from its ravages⁹¹: a sufficient proof that the monks of those times enjoyed much better accommodations, and greater abundance of all things, than the rest of their countrymen.

A. D. 1199.
King Richard receives a wound, of which he dies.

A truce for five years had lately been concluded between the kings of France and England, under the mediation of the pope; and a negotiation was set on foot in the beginning of this year, under the same mediation, for establishing a lasting peace between these monarchs, that they might be at liberty to undertake a second expedition into the Holy Land, when an event happened that put an end to all these projects. A considerable treasure, consisting of ancient coins and medals, had been accidentally found in the lands of Vidomar viscount of Limoges, and was demanded from that nobleman by king Richard, who claimed a right to it as sovereign of the country. Vidomar consented to give up a part

⁹⁰ Chron. Brompt. col. 1271.

⁹¹ W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 26.

of the treasure; which Richard rejecting, marched at the head of a body of Brabançons, and invested the castle of Chalus near Limoges, where the treasure was supposed to be concealed, with a design to seize the whole, and to punish his refractory vassal. The garrison offered to surrender the castle, and all things in it, on condition that they should be allowed to march out with their arms. But Richard wantonly rejected this offer, declaring that he was determined to take the castle by force, and to put them all to death. On the fourth day of the siege (March 28th), as the king, and Marcadee, commander of the Brabançons, were viewing the castle, in order to discover the most proper place for making an assault, Richard was wounded in the left shoulder with an arrow, discharged from a crossbow by Bertrame de Gourdon, one of the garrison. After remaining some time in the same place, he mounted his horse, returned to his head-quarters, and gave directions for the assault. The castle was taken, and all its defenders, according to orders, were hanged, except Bertrame de Gourdon, who was probably reserved for some more cruel death. In pulling the arrow from the king's shoulder the iron remained behind, which obliged the surgeon, who seems not to have been expert in his profession, to make several deep incisions, in order to extract it. After some days the symptoms of a gangrene appeared; and a wound which at first was not thought dangerous, was now esteemed mortal.

A.D. 1190.

A.D. 1199. As soon as he became apprehensive of death, he commanded Gourdon to be brought into his presence, and asked him, "What harm have I done to you that hath provoked you to attempt my death?"—"You have killed," replied Gourdon, "both my father and brother with your own hand, and designed to put me to an ignominious death. I am therefore ready to suffer the greatest torments you can invent, with joy, since I have been so happy as to kill one who hath been the author of so many miseries to mankind⁹²." The king, conscious of the truth of this bold reply, bore it with patience; and commanded Gourdon to be set at liberty. But this command was not obeyed. For Marcadee kept him in prison, and as soon as the king expired, put him to a painful death⁹³. Though Richard, at his departure for the Holy Land, had declared his nephew Arthur duke of Brittany his heir, he made a different disposition on his death-bed, by bequeathing all his dominions, and three-fourths of his treasure, to his brother prince John⁹⁴. No reasons are given for this important change by contemporary historians; and our conjectures concerning the motives to it can be but uncertain. Having expressed great penitence for his vices, and undergone a very severe discipline from the hands of the clergy who attended him in his last moments,

⁹² Hoveden, p. 450. col. 1.⁹³ Id. *ibid*.⁹⁴ Rymer Fœder. l. 1. p. 66. 68. Hoveden, p. 450.

he died on the tenth day after he was wounded, A.D. 1199
 April 6th, in the forty-second year of his age, and
 the tenth of his reign⁹⁵.

Thus fell Richard I. in the prime of life, Character
of king
Richard.
 when engaged in an enterprize unworthy of his
 power, and not very honourable to his character.
 In his person he is described by one who was
 intimately acquainted with him, to have been
 tall, strong, and handsome; his countenance
 fair and comely; his eyes blue and sparkling;
 his hair yellow; and his air stately and majes-
 tic⁹⁶. The natural endowments of his mind
 were not inferior to the perfections of his body.
 His understanding was excellent, his memory
 retentive, his imagination lively, and his courage
 so undaunted, that it procured him the surname
 of *Cœur de Lion*, or *the Lion-hearted*⁹⁷. In con-
 sequence of these endowments, he is celebrated
 by contemporary writers, as a wise politician, an
 eloquent orator, an admired poet, and the most
 illustrious warrior of the age in which he flou-
 rished. One of these writers, who attended him
 in his expedition into the Holy Land, compares
 him to Ulysses for policy; to Nestor for elo-
 quence; to Hector, Achilles, Alexander, and
 Roland, for military talents⁹⁸. In his conver-
 sation he was pleasant and facetious; and his

⁹⁵ Chron. Brompt. col. 1279.

⁹⁶ Gaufréd. Vinisau. l. 2. c. 5.

⁹⁷ Chron. Brompt. col. 1278. Girald. Cambren. Topograph.
 Hibern. Distinct. 3. c. 50.

⁹⁸ Gaufréd. Vinisau. l. 2. c. 5.

A.D. 1199. pleasantry did not forsake him even at the approach of death. When the archbishop of Rouen told him, in his last illness, that it was now high time to part with his three favourite daughters, his pride, avarice, and luxury; I am resolved, replied he, to dispose of them in marriage without delay; the first to the templars, the second to the monks, and the third to the prelates, because I know they love them dearly, and will treat them kindly⁹⁹. This prince was not so eminent for his virtues as for his accomplishments. On the contrary, though on some occasions he acted in a noble manner, especially to his prostrate enemies, he was in general haughty, cruel, covetous, passionate, and sensual, an undutiful son, an unfaithful husband, and a most pernicious king, having by his long absence and continual wars, drained his English dominions both of men and money.

King
John's ac-
cession and
corona-
tion.

John earl of Mortain, youngest son of Henry II. succeeded his brother Richard in the throne of England, as well as in his foreign dominions, to the exclusion of Arthur duke of Brittany, the only son of Geoffrey his elder brother¹⁰⁰. The regular course of succession to the crown of this kingdom, in the representative of the eldest branch of the royal family, was, in this period, so imperfectly established, and had been so often violated, that this deviation from it occasioned little or no disturbance. John

⁹⁹ Chron. Brompt. col. 1279.

¹⁰⁰ Hoveden, p. 451. col. 2.

A.D. 1199.

being in Normandy at the time of his brother's death, immediately flew to Chinon, where his treasures were deposited, and had them delivered to him, by Robert de Turnham, to whose custody they had been committed; after which he dispatched Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschal earl of Strigul, into England, to secure the succession and preserve the peace of that kingdom¹⁰¹. The influence of these commissioners was so great, that, with the assistance of Jeffrey Fitz-Peers, the chief justiciary, they prevailed upon the body of the clergy, nobility, and people of all ranks, to swear fealty to John; and having had a meeting at Northampton, with a few of the barons, who discovered some reluctance, they persuaded them also, by many fair promises, to take the same oath¹⁰². John's succession met with greater opposition on the continent, many of the barons of Anjou and Maine having declared in favour of Arthur duke of Brittany. This young prince, who was now about twelve years of age, was, by his mother Constantia, put into the hands of the king of France, to whom he did homage for all the dominions of his family on the continent, which engaged Philip to espouse his cause¹⁰³. This did not prevent John's being acknowledged and solemnly inaugurated duke of Normandy at Rouen, April 25th, by the archbishop of that

¹⁰¹ Hoveden, p. 451. col. 1.¹⁰² Id. *ibid*.¹⁰³ M. Paris, col. 138.

A.D. 1199.

city; after which he prepared for his passage into England; where he arrived, May 25th, and was crowned at Westminster, by the archbishop of Canterbury, on the 27th of that month¹⁰⁴. On the very day of this solemnity, John shewed his gratitude to the three persons who had contributed most to his peaceable accession, by appointing the archbishop chancellor of England, and creating William Mareschal earl of Pembroke, and Jeffrey Fitz-Peers earl of Essex¹⁰⁵.

War with
France.

John perceiving that a profound tranquillity prevailed in England, embarked for Normandy, and landed at Dieppe, June 18th, and soon after concluded a truce with the king of France, till August 16th, when the two monarchs were to have a personal interview, in order to adjust all their differences. At this interview, which was held near Gaillon, Philip behaved, with so much haughtiness, and his demands both for himself and for prince Arthur appeared to John so exorbitant, that he rejected them¹⁰⁶. On this the war was renewed; and Philip having made himself master of several places in Le Maine, in the months of September and October, demolished some, and retained others of them in his own possession.

Prince Ar-
thur de-
livered to

This circumstance raised strong suspicions of his selfish views in the mind of William de

¹⁰⁴ M. Paris, col. 138. Hoveden, p. 451.

¹⁰⁵ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁰⁶ M. Paris, p. 138. Hoveden, p. 452.

Roches,

Roches, the general of prince Arthur's forces; who, by a stratagem, conveyed that young prince from Paris to Le Mans, of which he was governor. Here he concluded a treaty with king John, into whose hands he put prince Arthur, and his mother Constantia, expecting greater favour to them from so near a relation, than from the king of France. But he soon had reason to repent of this transaction. For on the very next day he received intelligence, that the cruel uncle had formed designs against the life of his unhappy nephew; from which danger he was rescued by that faithful servant, who escaped with the prince and his mother from Le Mans to Angers¹⁰⁷.

A.D. 119
John, an
afterwar
rescued
from him

In the beginning of this year a peace was concluded between the kings of France and England, under the mediation of the cardinal of Capua, the pope's legate, and cemented by a contract of marriage between prince Louis, Philip's eldest son, and Blanche of Castile, king John's niece¹⁰⁸. Being now at liberty, John passed over into England, to collect the sum of twenty thousand marks, which by an article of the peace he was to pay to the king of France, and to have an interview with the king of Scotland, who was become very importunate in his demands of the northern counties. He succeeded in the first of these designs; but failed in the second, the king of

A.D. 1201
Peace wit
France,
and retur
to Eng-
land.

¹⁰⁷ Hoveden, p. 452.

¹⁰⁸ Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 117, 118. Annal. Burton. p. 260.

A.D. 1200. Scotland declining the interview in discontent; on which John returned into Normandy¹²⁹.

John's
marriage.

In a progress which he made into Guienne, in the summer of this year, to receive the homage of the barons of that province, he was captivated with the charms of Isabel, the young and fair daughter of Aymar, earl of Engoulesme, and the betrothed wife of Hugh le Brun, earl of La Marche, to whom she had been delivered. Aymar, dazzled with the lustre of a crown, decoyed his daughter from her betrothed husband; and John having obtained a divorce from his wife, to whom he had been married ten years, and with whom he had received the earldom of Gloucester, and many great estates, was married to Isabel by the archbishop of Bourdeaux¹³⁰. This marriage, equally criminal and imprudent, created him many enemies; amongst whom the injured husband was the most violent and implacable. The king conducted his young queen into England, and they were both solemnly crowned at Westminster, October 8th, by the archbishop of Canterbury¹³¹.

King of
Scotland
does ho-
mage to
John.

William king of Scotland, conducted by the bishop of Durham and three English earls, arrived at Lincoln November 21st, and the day after did homage to king John, for the territories that he held of the crown of England, on a hill without that city, in presence of a great con-

¹²⁹ M. Paris, p. 139. ¹³⁰ Hoveden, p. 457. M. Paris, p. 140.
¹³¹ R. Hoveden, p. 461.

course of the nobility of both kingdoms; insisting, at the same time, with much earnestness, on the immediate restitution of the northern counties. But the final decision of that claim was put off to the next Whitsuntide¹¹².

A.D. 120

King John, with his young queen, and a very splendid court, spent the first months of this year in a continued course of feasting, in which he much delighted; and, celebrating the festival of Easter at Canterbury, he and his queen wore their crowns and royal robes, in imitation of the ancient kings and queens of England¹¹³. But he was soon awakened from this dream of pleasure, by receiving intelligence from the continent, that the enraged earl of La Marche, his brother the earl of Eu, and several other barons, had raised a rebellion in Guienne: on which he summoned all his English vassals and military tenants, to meet him with their horses and arms at Portsmouth, on Whitsunday, in order to attend him to the continent. Many of the English barons began on this occasion to discover their discontent; and, thinking the war too trifling for such an expensive expedition, declined to obey the summons; which obliged him to embark with a smaller army than he intended¹¹⁴. Soon after his arrival on the continent, he had an interview with the king of France, who invited him to Paris, where he was lodged with

A.D. 120

John's expedition into Guienne, &c.

¹¹² R. Hoveden, p. 462.¹¹³ Diceto, col. 709.¹¹⁴ R. Hoveden, p. 466. col. 1.

his

A. D. 1201.

his queen and court in the royal palace, and nobly entertained ¹¹⁵. Departing from Paris, he put himself at the head of his army, and marched to the borders of Guienne. But instead of prosecuting the war with vigour, he entered into a negotiation with the rebellious barons; and having pacified them a little, by promising to remove all the causes of their complaints, he returned to Rouen, to enjoy the society of his queen and the pleasures of his court ¹¹⁶.

Prince
Arthur be-
comes
duke of
Britanny.

In the mean time, Constantia duchess of Britanny dying at Nantes, August 31st, her only son Arthur took possession of that duchy, and soon after began to enter into engagements with the discontented barons of Guienne, and to lay claim to all the dominions of his family on the continent, to which he had an undoubted right ¹¹⁷.

A. D. 1202.

King of
France
espouses
the cause
of prince
Arthur.

Philip, king of France, had for some time past been greatly embroiled with the pope, who had laid his kingdom under an interdict; and, on that account, he had thought it prudent to cultivate peace with all his neighbours, and particularly with king John ¹¹⁸. But being in the beginning of this year reconciled to the court of Rome, he found himself at liberty to pursue different measures. He now openly declared himself the protector of the discontented barons of Guienne, and of the young duke of Britanny,

¹¹⁵ R. Hoveden, p. 466. col. 1.

¹¹⁷ Annal. Burton. p. 262.

¹¹⁶ Gul. Breto. Philip, l. 6.

¹¹⁸ Hoveden, p. 456.

and

Ch. I. § 4. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

and threatened John with an immediate war, if he did not do them justice. John, to divert this storm, if possible, proposed a personal interview. But at this interview, which was held, March 25th, near Andely, Philip's demands were so high, that they were rejected, and a war immediately commenced¹¹⁹.

A. D. 1212

In the beginning of this war the king of France made himself master of several towns in Normandy. But a very unfortunate event soon after happened that put a stop to his further progress. The youthful Arthur duke of Brittany, being now about sixteen years of age, full of spirit, and animated with the most violent resentment against a cruel ambitious uncle, who had robbed him of so fair a succession, took the field at the head of two hundred knights, and was soon after joined by many of the disaffected barons of Poitou and Guienne. As he was marching with his little army near the castle of Mirabel in Poitou, he received intelligence, that his grandmother queen Eleanor, who had warmly espoused the cause of her son against her grandson, resided in that castle. At the earnest intreaty of his barons, to whom the queen was very obnoxious, he invested it. The bass-court of the castle was taken; and the queen with the garrison driven into the tower or keep, when John, informed of his mother's danger, flew to her relief with an army of English and Braban-

Prince
thur ta
prison
king Jo

¹¹⁹ M. Paris, p. 144. col. 2.

cons.

A.D. 1202.



cons. At the approach of this army the besiegers marched out to meet them, August 1st; but being overpowered by superior numbers, they fled back into the castle, where they were all either killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was the unfortunate duke of Brittany, and the earl of La Marche (John's two greatest enemies), with many barons, and above two hundred knights, who were all loaded with irons, and sent to different prisons in Normandy and England¹²⁰. The king of France was so much affected with the news of this disaster that had befallen his friends, that he raised the siege of Arques, in which he was then engaged, and retired to Paris¹²¹.

A.D. 1203.

Prince Arthur murdered.

If king John had known how to use the advantage he had gained with moderation and prudence, it might have contributed not a little to the peace and prosperity of his future reign. But by pursuing a contrary conduct, it involved him in guilt, disgrace, and misery. Prince Arthur was at first confined in the castle of Falaise; where several persons were solicited to dispatch him, but rejected the base proposal. On this he was conducted to the castle of Rouen, where king John resided. Here the unhappy prince was murdered, April 3d, in a manner not certainly known, and differently reported by

¹²⁰ M. Paris, p. 144, 145. *Annal Waverlien*, p. 167. *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 458.

¹²¹ M. Paris, p. 145. col. 1.

historians,

Ch. I. § 4. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

historians, though they all agree, that the horrid deed was perpetrated at the instigation, if not by the hand, of his most cruel uncle ^{A.D. 1122.}

Immediately after this execrable act, John hastened into England, carrying with him the princess Eleanor, commonly called *The Maid of Brittany*, the sister of the late prince Arthur; and having committed her to prison, under keepers, on whom he could depend, he returned to Normandy ^{King J. having brought over the maid of Brittany; return: Normandy.} Many of the other prisoners were so cruelly treated, that they perished in their confinement, and no fewer than twenty-two of the noblest and bravest of them were starved to death in Corf castle ^{123.}

No sooner were these cruel transactions published to the world, than John became the object of general execration ^{125.} The barons of Brittany accused him of the murder of their prince before the king of France, of whom he held all his continental territories; and on his not appearing to answer to that charge, he was found guilty of treason and felony, and all his dominions forfeited ^{126.} To execute this sentence Philip put himself at the head of his army; and being joined by several barons of Poitou, Anjou, and Maine, he made great progress in the con-

¹²² Annal. Margan, p. 13. Chron. T. Wikes, p. 36. Chron. W. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 94. M. Paris, p. 145. col. 1. Hen. Knighton, col. 2414.

¹²³ Chron. T. Wikes, p. 36.

¹²⁴ Id. *ibid.*

¹²⁵ M. Paris, p. 145. col. 2.

¹²⁶ Annal. de Margan, p. 13.

A. D. 1203.

quest of Normandy in the course of this campaign, while his infatuated rival spent his time at Rouen, in a succession of sleeping and rioting; and at length, December 6th, he abandoned the continent, and embarked for England¹²⁷.

A. D. 1204.

John having returned to England, Philip reduces almost all his foreign dominions. After this shameful retreat of king John, Philip redoubled his efforts to complete the reduction of Normandy, which he accomplished before the end of this summer¹²⁸. At the same time, and with equal facility, he got possession of the provinces of Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, except a few places¹²⁹.

John's oppressive government.

To alleviate in some measure the intolerable ignominy of losing so many fair provinces, the inheritance of his ancestors, without so much as attempting to preserve them, John endeavoured to throw some part of the blame upon his English barons, who, he pretended, had forsaken him, and thereby put it out of his power to defend his territories; for which he fined some, and confiscated the estates of others¹³⁰. In these oppressive measures he was supported by the great influence and authority of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury in the church, and of Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, the chief justiciary, in the state¹³¹. He also prevailed upon a parliament, held at Oxford, to grant him a scutage of two marks and a half

¹²⁷ Annal de Margan, p. 13. M. Paris, p. 146. col. 1. Chron. Trevite, ann. 1203.

¹²⁸ Annal. Waverlien. p. 168. Chron. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 100.

¹²⁹ Ypodigma Neustria, p. 459, ¹³⁰ M. Paris, p. 146. col. 1.

¹³¹ Id. ibid.

Ch. I. § 4. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

upon every knight's fee, for raising an army to be sent to Normandy¹³². But no army was either raised or sent.

A. D. 12

In the spring of this year, king John, feigning to have formed a resolution to attempt the recovery of his foreign territories, summoned all his barons, and other military tenants, to meet him at Portsmouth on Whitfunday, in order to attend him in an expedition to the continent. But when the army was assembled, and all things in readiness, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the archbishop of Canterbury to change his mind, and dismiss his troops. In a few weeks, however, changing, or pretending to change, his mind a second time, he embarked at Portsmouth with a small retinue, and put to sea, July 15th; but two days after returned to Stodland near Wareham, where he landed, making this ridiculous excursion a pretence for exacting money from his military tenants for their non-attendance¹³³. By this conduct, equally capricious and tyrannical, he incurred still more and more the contempt of his enemies and the hatred of his subjects.

A. D. 12

John's
ther op
pressio

John, being importuned by some of the nobles of Poitou, who still adhered to the English interest, to come to their assistance; and being also encouraged to that undertaking by Guy de Thouars, who governed Brittany, and was become jealous of the increasing power of France,

A. D. 12

John's
successf
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tinent,
his retu
to Eng
land.

¹³² Mat. Westmonasteriens. ann. 1204.

¹³³ M. Paris, p. 148.

seemed

A.D. 1206.

seemed at last to be roused from his ignominious indolence, and raised an army, with which he embarked at Portsmouth, June 25th, and landed at Rochelle, July 9th¹³⁴. But he did not conduct this enterprise in such a manner as to retrieve his honour, or recover any part of his dominions. For though he was joined by many barons of Poitou and Brittany, he did little more than plunder the open country; and as soon as the king of France approached with an army, he began to think of making his retreat. In order to accomplish this, he proposed a personal interview with Philip to treat of an accommodation; to which that prince agreed. But John, instead of appearing at the time and place appointed for the interview, made use of that opportunity of retiring with his army to Rochelle. By the mediation of the pope, and at the earnest intreaty of certain ecclesiastical negotiators, a truce for two years was concluded at Thouars, October 27th; not long after which John embarked with his army for England, and landed at Portsmouth December 12th¹³⁵.

A.D. 1207,
and 1208.
John's
quarrel
with the
pope.

The famous quarrel between king John and the pope about the choice of an archbishop of Canterbury was now commenced, and had come to so great a height, that the kingdom of England was laid under an interdict, March 24th, and the king was threatened with excommunica-

¹³⁴ M. Paris, p. 149.¹³⁵ Id. *ibid.* Rymer Fœd. t. i. p. 341.

tion ¹³⁶. To guard against the effects of these papal thunders, which in those days of darkness and superstition made the greatest monarchs tremble, John demanded and obtained hostages from his chief nobility, as a further security for their obedience and fidelity ¹³⁷.

A. D. 1207
and 1208.

William king of Scotland had long been discontented, because the consideration of his claim to the northern counties had been put off from time to time. John, on the other hand, was no less dissatisfied with that prince—for having demolished a fort near Berwick—for having entertained fugitives from England—and for other causes ¹³⁸. To put an end to these disputes, John marched into the north in the spring of this year, at the head of a very powerful army, and was met by William at the head of his forces, on the borders of Scotland. When the two armies lay facing each other near the castle of Norham, a treaty was proposed and concluded. By this treaty, which was ratified at Northampton, August 7th, William agreed to pay to John fifteen thousand marks at four different terms, in consideration of certain concessions made to him in another charter, which is not preserved; and also to send his two daughters to be educated in the court of England, but not to be considered as hostages ¹³⁹.

A. D. 1209
John's expedition
against
Scotland,
and peace
made.

¹³⁶ See chap. xi. cent. 12.

¹³⁷ M. Paris, p. 158.

¹³⁸ Chron. Hemmingford, l. 2. c. 101. M. Paris, p. 152, col. 2.

¹³⁹ Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 155.

A.D. 1209.

John's unpopular government.

After his return from this northern expedition, John issued a proclamation, commanding all freeholders and tenants of the crown to repeat their homage, and renew their oaths of fealty; which prevented any commotions arising when the long-dreaded sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him in the month of November¹⁴⁰. But though the affection of his subjects was at this time so necessary to the support of his government, this imprudent prince could not refrain from an unpopular and tyrannical exercise of his authority. He forbid the two admired diversions of hunting and hawking, under the severest penalties, and commanded all the fences about the royal forests to be thrown down, that his deer might have free access to the corn-fields¹⁴¹.

A.D. 1210.

John's expedition into Ireland.

In the first four months of this year, king John was keenly engaged in extorting money from his subjects, both clergy and laity, and particularly from the Jews, in order, as he pretended, to raise an army for an expedition into Normandy¹⁴². But when the army was raised, instead of directing his march towards Normandy, he passed through Wales, and landed in Ireland, June 6th. At his arrival in Dublin, more than twenty of the chieftains and petty princes of that country waited upon him, did homage, and swore fealty to him as their sove-

¹⁴⁰ M. Paris, p. 159.¹⁴¹ Id. *ibid*.¹⁴² *Annals Waverlieni* p. 171. M. Paris, p. 160.

Ch. i. § 4. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

reign¹⁴³. During his stay in Ireland, which was about three months, he reduced the province of Connaught; drove Hugh de Lacy earl of Ulster, and his brother Walter de Lacy earl of Meath, against whom he had a quarrel, out of the country; and having thus overcome all opposition to his authority, he established the English laws in that island, and coined money of the same denominations, weight, and fineness, with that of England¹⁴⁴.

A. D. 121

After his return from his Irish expedition, which was the most successful transaction of his unhappy reign, he held an assembly of all the abbots, abbesses, priors, and superiors of religious houses, at London; and forced them to pay him no less than one hundred thousand pounds before he would allow them to depart¹⁴⁵: a sufficient proof of *their* wealth, as well as of *his* tyranny.

John ex
torts mo
ney from
the mon
and nun

The honour that John had acquired by his expedition into Ireland, encouraged him to undertake one this year, against Llewellyn prince of North Wales, though he was his own son-in-law, by having married his natural daughter, named Jane. In his first attempt his army was reduced to great distress for want of provisions, which obliged him to return to England. Irritated at this disappointment, he collected sufficient quantities of victuals of all kinds, and

A. D. 121
John's ex
pedition
into
Wales.

¹⁴³ M. Paris, p. 160.

¹⁴⁵ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁴⁴ Id. *ibid*.

A.D. 1211.

marched back into Wales, with so great an army, that Llewellyn, despairing of being able to defend his country, sent his consort to her father to implore a peace; which she obtained, on these conditions, that Llewellyn should do homage to John for his principality,—pay twenty thousand head of cattle, and forty horses, for the expences of the war,—and give twenty-eight hostages for his future fidelity ¹⁴⁶. Returning triumphant from this expedition, John obliged all his military tenants who had not attended him in it, to pay a scutage of two marks for every knight's fee ¹⁴⁷.

A.D. 1212.

Discon-
tents of
the Eng-
lish ba-
rons.

The success of his three expeditions into Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, contributed not a little to support John's authority, and prevent any commotions in England, though that kingdom had now been about four years under an interdict. He was on the best terms with his nearest and most powerful neighbour the king of Scotland, with whom he had an interview at Durham, February 2d, and whose eldest son prince Alexander he knighted at London, March 4th ¹⁴⁸. But notwithstanding this external tranquillity, and all these fair appearances, many of the English barons were secretly disaffected, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to revenge the injuries they had suffered from the avarice, lust, and cruelty of their

¹⁴⁶ Powel Hist. Wales, p. 263. M. Paris, p. 160.

¹⁴⁷ M. Paris, p. 160.

¹⁴⁸ Id. p. 161.

sovereign.

sovereign. Such an opportunity was soon presented.

A. D. 1212

The pope finding that the interdict and excommunication had not produced the desired effect, proceeding to greater extremities, pronounced a formal sentence of deposition against John, absolved all his subjects from their oaths of fealty, and invited the king of France, and all other Christian princes and people, to join in a croisade for putting that sentence in execution¹⁴⁹. Llewellyn prince of Wales was the first who took the field to execute this papal decree; and falling with an army into the English marches, destroyed the country with fire and sword. Enraged at these cruelties, John raised a great army; and threatening the total extirpation of the Welsh, marched to Nottingham, where he commanded the twenty-eight young gentlemen who had been given as hostages for the late peace, to be hanged¹⁵⁰. At this place he received the first hints of the designs that were secretly forming against him by his barons, in letters from the king of Scotland, which were confirmed by similar intimations sent him by his daughter the princess of Wales. Alarmed at this intelligence, and not knowing whom to suspect or whom to trust, he shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham, for fifteen days; when recovering a little from his first surprise, he

John deposed by the pope, and deserted by many of his barons.

¹⁴⁹ Annal. Waverlien. p. 171. M. Paris, p. 162. Mat. Westmonasteriens. ann. 1212.

¹⁵⁰ M. Paris, p. 161.

A.D. 1212.

under the name of John marched forward to Chester. But here, receiving accounts from several quarters, that the plots against him were ripe for execution, and that if he proceeded any further he would either be assassinated or delivered to the enemy, he dismissed his army, and hastened back to London, to take measures for his preservation. Some of the conspirators, as Eustace de Vesci, and Robert Fitz-Walter, fled out of the kingdom; others were imprisoned on suspicion; and the rest gave their sons and nearest relations as hostages for their fidelity¹⁵¹. Still further to guard against the dreaded danger, he seldom appeared in public, and kept certain companies of foreign mercenaries constantly about his person¹⁵². Conferences were held towards the end of this year with Pandulph and Durand, the pope's agents, in order to an accommodation with the court of Rome; but John being not yet sufficiently humbled to submit to the ignominious yoke they intended to wreath about his neck, these conferences broke off without effect¹⁵³.

A. D. 1213.

Preparations in France for invading England.

The effects of the sentence of deposition that had been pronounced by the pope against the king of England, now began to appear in a very formidable light. The king of France had spent the greatest part of last year in preparing a fleet and army for executing that sentence, by invading England, dethroning John, and seating

¹⁵¹ M. Paris, p. 161. Chron. Trivetii, ann. 1212.

¹⁵² Asapa. Waverliën. p. 173.

¹⁵³ Id. p. 174, 175.

himself

himself in his room. All things being in readiness, the French army was appointed to rendezvous at Rouen, April 21st, and from thence to march to Boulogne, where a fleet of seventeen hundred ships was prepared for their reception¹⁵⁴.

A.D. 1433.

John was not wanting to himself on this occasion; but made every possible preparation for a brave defence. On March 3d, he sent precepts to the bailiffs of all the sea-ports of England commanding them to take an exact list of all the ships in those ports capable of carrying six horses or upwards, and to order the masters of these ships to have them at Portsmouth on or before the 24th of that month¹⁵⁵. About the same time he sent similar precepts to the sheriffs, commanding them to summon all the earls, barons, knights, military tenants, or others who had or ought to have arms, in their respective counties, to appear at Dover, April 21st, for the defence of the kingdom, of the king's life, and of their own lives¹⁵⁶. In obedience to this summons, such prodigious multitudes crowded to the rendezvous, that a scarcity of provisions followed, and obliged the king to dismiss all who were imperfectly armed; after which no fewer than sixty thousand brave and well-appointed troops remained¹⁵⁷.

John's preparations for opposing the invaders.

¹⁵⁴ M. Paris, p. 162.¹⁵⁶ Id. p. 163.¹⁵⁵ Id. *ibid*.¹⁵⁷ Id. *ibid*.

A. D. 1213.

John re-
conciled
to the
pope, and
becomes
his vassal.

When the kings of France and England were thus stationed on the opposite shores, at the head of all their forces, ready to determine the fate of this mighty kingdom, Pandulph, the pope's legate, sent two knights templars to John to propose a private conference. The proposal was accepted; and the legate, in an interview with John at Dover, painted the power of Philip in such strong colours, and gave him such convincing evidence of the general disaffection of his own nobility, that he was overwhelmed with dismay, and declared himself ready to submit to any terms for his preservation from impending ruin. The artful agent of Rome having brought the wretched prince to this point, produced the conditions on which the pope was willing to relax him from the censures, and receive him into the protection, of the church; which were immediately subscribed, May 13th, by him and his greatest barons. By this agreement John engaged to receive Stephen Langton, the archbishop appointed by the pope, with all the bishops and clergy who had adhered to him, into favour, and to repair all the damages they had sustained, in the course of this long and violent quarrel, on the performance of which the interdict was to be taken off¹⁵⁸. To give a more effectual check to the king of France (of whose power the pope began to be afraid), and to bring

¹⁵⁸ Chron. N. Triveti, ann. 1213. Annal. Waverlien. p. 177.
M. Paris, p. 164.

CH. I. § 4. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

the thunders of the church to point directly upon him if he presumed to proceed in his enterprise against England, it was contrived, most probably by Pandulph, that John should resign his kingdoms of England and Ireland into the hands of his holiness, and agree to hold them of him; paying a tribute of seven hundred marks a-year for the former, and three hundred marks for the latter: and this ignominious ceremony was actually performed at Dover, May 15th ¹⁵⁹.

A.D. 1171

Pandulph having thus effectually accomplished his designs in England, and acquired the sovereignty of two kingdoms to the church of Rome, returned to France, and commanded Philip, in the pope's name, to desist from attempting any thing against the king of England, who was become the vassal of the holy see. To this insolent command that monarch, after some angry but vain expostulations, thought it prudent to yield obedience ¹⁶⁰. In this manner, in those days of darkness and superstition, did an old infirm priest, sitting in his chamber at Rome, regulate all the motions of the most powerful princes as he pleased!

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The king of France being thus obliged to abandon his intended invasion of England, turned his arms against Ferrand earl of Flanders, who, with some other princes on the continent, had entered into an alliance with king John, to form

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¹⁵⁹ M. Paris, p. 165. Knighton, l. 11. c. 25, col. 2419.

¹⁶⁰ M. Paris, p. 165.

A.D. 1213.

a balance against the increasing power of Philip ¹⁶¹. The French army being very great, took several of the strongest towns of Flanders in a little time, and threatened the conquest of the whole country. In this extremity, Ferrand implored the assistance of all his allies, and particularly of the king of England; who commanded his fleet, consisting of five hundred ships, which had been collected for the defence of the kingdom against the expected invasion, to sail from Portsmouth, and attack the French fleet on the coast of Flanders. These two great fleets (that of France being still more numerous than the other) met off the port of Dam, where they immediately engaged, and the English obtained a complete victory, taking three hundred vessels loaded with provisions, &c. destroying one hundred, and dispersing all the rest ¹⁶². Philip was so much confounded at the news of this great disaster, by which he and his nobility had lost their most valuable effects, that he retired with his army into his own dominions, and gave orders to burn such of his ships as were in danger of falling into the hands of the English.

John's intended expedition into Normandy prevented this year.

John, as much elated as his rival was dejected by this event, formed the scheme of an expedition to the continent for the recovery of his foreign territories; which, if it had been executed with spirit, could hardly have failed of success. But when this design was communi-

¹⁶¹ Rymer Fœd. 1. 1. p. 157. 160. 161.

¹⁶² M. Paris, p. 166. Mezeray, vol. 2. p. 628.

Ch. I. § 4. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

cated to the nobility; who were in general dis- A.D. 1
affected, they refused to engage in it, alleging
that the time of their service was expired, and
that their provisions were exhausted¹⁶³. Though
John was much enraged at this refusal, not hav-
ing it in his power to compel them by force, he
tried to bring them by a stratagem to engage in
this expedition. With this view he embarked
with his household troops, and sailed from Portf-
mouth to Jersey, hoping that his barons would
follow him with their forces. But, instead of
this, they separated, and retired to their respec-
tive countries: of which John being informed,
he returned to England more enraged than ever.
Having collected a considerable army, chiefly of
mercenaries, he directed his march towards the
north, with a resolution to chastise some of the
barons in those parts, who were the chief objects
of his resentment. But when he had proceeded
as far as Nottingham, he was overtaken by arch-
bishop Langton, who threatened him and all his
followers with the terrible sentence of excom-
munication, if he prosecuted his revenge any
further; which obliged him to desist¹⁶⁴.

Though John had been thus constrained to A.D. 1
delay his expedition to the continent, he had by
no means abandoned the design; in which he was
encouraged by his allies, the earls of Flanders,
Boulogne, Thoulouse, and Auvergne. All these
princes came over to England in January this

¹⁶³ M. Paris, p. 166.

¹⁶⁴ Id. p. 167.

year,

John's
success
exped
to the
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A. D. 1214.

year, and formed a plan for invading France on both sides at the same time; on the side of Flanders, by Otho emperor of Germany, the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, assisted by some English troops; on the other side by king John, in conjunction with the earls of Thoulouse, Auvergne, and his other confederates in those parts¹⁶⁵. To execute his part of this plan, king John embarked with an army at Portsmouth February 2d, landed at Rochelle February 15th; and being joined by his allies, took several towns in Poitou and Anjou¹⁶⁶. His other allies invaded France on the other side, at the same time, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. But this great army was defeated at Bovines, July 27th: the earls of Flanders, Holland, Boulogne, and Salisbury, with about one hundred and forty other earls and barons, were taken prisoners; and the emperor Otho made his escape with much difficulty¹⁶⁷. On receiving the news of this disaster, and of the approach of Louis prince of France with an army, John retired with great precipitation, abandoned all his conquests, and returned to England, October 19th, having concluded a five years truce with king Philip¹⁶⁸.

A. D. 1215.
Civil war
between

The schemes that had been forming for some time past among the English barons, for recover-

¹⁶⁵ M. Paris, p. 172.

¹⁶⁶ *Id.* p. 172, 173. Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 189.

¹⁶⁷ Chron. Mailros, p. 187. M. Paris, p. 174, 175.

¹⁶⁸ Rymer Fœd; p. 192.

recovered

ing

Ch. 1. § 4. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

ing and securing their liberties, being now become ripe for execution, a great number of these barons, attended by their followers in arms, waited upon the king, at London, January 6th, and demanded a confirmation of the liberties that had been granted to their ancestors by Henry I. in his charter, a copy of which they produced ¹⁶⁹. After some altercation, the king promised to return an answer to this demand at the end of Easter next; and the archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishop of Ely and the earl of Pembroke, becoming sureties for his performing this promise, the barons were satisfied, and retired. John resolving in his own mind not to grant the demands of his barons, employed various arts to secure himself from the effects of their resentment. With this view he commanded all his subjects to renew their oaths of fealty;—granted to all cathedrals, monasteries, and conventual societies, the right of electing their superiors;—took the cross for the recovery of the Holy Land;—and sent ambassadors to his sovereign lord the pope to accuse his barons of rebellion, and solicit the thunders of the church against them ¹⁷⁰. By these steps, the barons being convinced that nothing could be obtained without a sufficient power to enforce their demands, assembled at Stamford in Easter week, with all their followers, who constituted a formidable army, and marched, April 27th, to

A. D. 1
King J
and his
barons

¹⁶⁹ M. Paris, p. 176. ¹⁷⁰ Id. ibid. Rymer Fœd, p. 197.

Bracley,

A. D. 1215.

Bracley, about fifteen miles from Oxford, where the king then resided¹⁷¹. On the approach of the barons, John sent the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke, to ask what were the liberties and privileges that they desired. To these ambassadors the barons delivered a schedule, containing the heads of their demands; which being presented to the king, he rejected them with indignation, declaring, that he never would grant such liberties to his subjects as would make himself a slave¹⁷². On receiving this answer, the barons, without paying any regard to the pope's letters, threatening them with excommunication, broke out into open war, and invested the castle of Northampton, which they could not take, for want of battering engines¹⁷³. But they were more successful in their next attempts. For after they had taken the castle of Bedford, having received an invitation from the chief citizens of London, they marched thither, and took possession of that capital, May 24th¹⁷⁴.

King John
grants the
great
charter.

The king, who had retired from Oxford to Odeham, finding himself abandoned almost by all the world, sent the earl of Pembroke to the insurgents at London, to propose a conference in order to an accommodation. This conference was accordingly held in a large meadow between Windsor and Stanes, where, on Friday, June

¹⁷¹ M. Paris.¹⁷² Id. *ibid*.¹⁷³ Rymer Fœd. t. i. p. 196, 197. M. Paris, p. 177.¹⁷⁴ Id. *ibid*.

19th, the famous charter, called *Magna Charta*, or, *The Great Charter*, was granted by king John¹⁷⁵. To secure the possession of those inestimable privileges granted by this charter, the palladium of English liberty, many precautions were taken by the barons, and, in particular, twenty-five of their own number were appointed to be conservators of the charter, and invested with the most extensive powers for that purpose¹⁷⁶.

After king John had granted this charter, he became sullen, melancholy, and dejected; and retiring with a few confidants to the Isle of Wight, he began to form schemes for recovering the prerogatives which he had relinquished. With this view he dispatched orders to all the commanders of his castles, to repair their fortifications, and furnish them with provisions. He sent agents to the continent, to collect an army of Brabantines and other mercenaries, and bring them into England;—and by ambassadors, he again applied to the pope for his protection and assistance¹⁷⁷. While these emissaries were executing their commissions, John lived for three months in the greatest obscurity in the Isle of Wight, conversing only with the sailors of the Cinque-ports, whose affections he thereby gained.

The king's ambassadors met with a most favourable reception at the court of Rome; and

John's contentment
his granting the
great charter, and
his preparation
for recalling

The pope's
condemnation
the great

¹⁷⁵ See Judge Blackstone's Law-tracts, vol. 2. introduc. See chap. 3.

¹⁷⁶ M. Paris, p. 181.

¹⁷⁷ Id. p. 183, 184.

A.D. 1215.
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 charter,
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 cates the
 barons.

having read some of the most offensive articles of the great charter to the pope, his holiness knit his brows, and swore by St. Peter, "that he would not suffer a king who bore the sign of the cross, and was a vassal of the Holy See, to be treated in that manner with impunity¹⁷⁸." To execute these threats, he issued one bull, August 24th, annulling the great charter, as extorted by force; and another, not long after, denouncing excommunication against the barons and all their favourers¹⁷⁹.

John takes
 Rochester
 castle.

About the time that these bulls were brought to England, John received a more effectual succour, by the landing of a great army of Brabantines, and other mercenaries, at Dover; which encouraged him to emerge from his obscurity, and invest the castle of Rochester. This was a dreadful blow upon the barons, who had been lulled asleep by the king's retirement, and the contempt in which they held him. The castle, however, was bravely defended by a garrison of one hundred and forty knights, with their followers, under the command of William de Albemarle. But at the end of two months, their provisions being exhausted, they were obliged to surrender at discretion, November 30th¹⁸⁰.

A.D. 1216.
 Opera-
 tions of
 the war.

In the beginning of this year, king John's affairs were in a very flourishing situation. Having divided his forces, which were very numerous,

¹⁷⁸ M. Paris, p. 184.
¹⁸⁰ M. Paris, p. 187.

¹⁷⁹ Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 204, 205. 208.

into two armies, he left one of them under the command of the earl of Salisbury near London, and marched with the other into the north. The first of these armies greatly straitened the metropolis, and took several towns and castles in its neighbourhood; and the second struck such terror as it advanced northward, that the confederated barons of Yorkshire and Northumberland abandoned their country and fled into Scotland¹⁸¹. John, as usual, made a cruel use of his superiority, desolating the open country with fire and sword, and burning all the towns that fell into his hands, particularly Morpeth, Alnwick, Berwick, Roxburgh, Dunbar, and Haddington, which were all reduced to ashes, in the month of January this year¹⁸². About the same time, the pope's bull excommunicating all the confederated barons by name, and laying their lands under an interdict, was published in all parts of England, except London¹⁸³.

The barons being thus reduced to the very brink of ruin, and knowing too well the cruel unrelenting disposition of their prince to think of making their submission, sent their general, Robert Fitz-Walter, and Saker earl of Winton, to Philip king of France, to make an offer of the throne of England to prince Louis, his eldest son. A dangerous step! to which nothing could have driven them but despair; which, a contemporary

The barons offer the crown of England to Louis prince of France.

¹⁸¹ Chron. Mailros, p. 190. M. Paris, p. 190.

¹⁸² Id. p. 191. Chron. Mailros, p. 190. ¹⁸³ M. Paris, p. 191.

A. D. 1216.

historian tells us, was so great, that they cursed both the king and the pope, in the bitterness of their souls¹⁸⁴. Their splendid offer was joyfully accepted by Philip and his son, who sent them an immediate reinforcement of seven thousand men, and prepared to bring them in person a more effectual relief¹⁸⁵.

Prince
Louis
lands with
his army,
takes Ro-
chester,
and enters
London.

These preparations were carried on with so much vigour, that prince Louis arrived with a fleet of six hundred ships, at the isle of Thanet, and landed his army at Sandwich, May 23d, without opposition¹⁸⁶. Having taken the castle of Rochester in his march, May 30th, he entered London, June 2d, in a kind of triumph, amidst the loudest acclamations of the citizens, the barons, and their followers, who did homage to him as their sovereign, and received his promise, upon oath, that he would restore them to all their possessions, and protect them in all their privileges¹⁸⁷.

King John
in great
distress.

The state of things was now entirely changed, and king John, who a few months before was on the point of overwhelming all his enemies, was obliged to retire from place to place, being abandoned by several of his barons, and many of his mercenaries. The pope was still his steady friend, and by the hands of Gualo, his legate in England, discharged all the artillery of the church against his adversaries. But these, being un-
ported

¹⁸⁴ M. Paris. p. 193.

¹⁸⁵ Radulf. Niger, p. 144.

¹⁸⁶ M. Paris, p. 195.

¹⁸⁷ Id. ibid.

Ch. I. § 4.

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¹⁸⁸ M. Paris, p

A.D. 1216.

their protector, who might become their conqueror; and Louis had given such plain indications of his partiality to his own countrymen, and aversion to the English, that the earl of Salisbury, William Marechal, Walter Beauchamp, and several others, abandoned his party. But king John did not live to enjoy this returning dawn of good fortune. For having marched from Lyne-Regis in Norfolk, over the sands into Lincolnshire, at an improper time, the rear of his army was overtaken by the flowing tide, and fell into certain quicksands in which he lost all his carriages, containing his regalia, money, provisions, and baggage of all kinds. This disaster, added to many other causes of chagrin, threw him into a fever, which increased so fast, that it was with great difficulty he reached Newark upon Trent; where he died, October 19th, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. In his last moments he is said to have received letters from forty of the revolted barons, declaring their resolution to return to his obedience, which (though they came too late to afford him any comfort) produced a revolution favourable to his family, which will be related in the beginning of the fourth book of this work ¹⁹⁰.

Character
of king
John.

- The odious character that hath been given of king John by all our ancient historians, is but

¹⁹⁰ M. Paris, p. 198, 199. Chron. Trivetii, ann. 1216. Hen. Knyghton, col. 2425. Annal. Waverliën. p. 182.

too well supported by the particulars of his history. From thence it appears,—that he was an unnatural son, having conspired against a most indulgent father;—an unkind brother, having attempted the ruin of king Richard, who had loaded him with favours;—a cruel uncle, having murdered his nephew prince Arthur, and kept his niece the princess Eleanora in perpetual imprisonment;—a jealous and unfaithful husband, having repudiated one wife, and imprisoned another, and violated his faith to both by innumerable adulteries. He discovered his contempt of religion,—by his wanton violation of the most solemn oaths,—his horrid habitual swearing,—and his insipid sarcasms on sacred things. The public character of this prince was, if possible, more detestable than his private; and if he was a bad man, he was a worse king; having suffered himself to be stript of his foreign dominions without a struggle, and subjected his kingdom to the ignominious yoke of Rome. In his administration he paid no regard to justice, law, or mercy; but acted the part of a lustful, rapacious, and bloody tyrant, sporting with the honours, the fortunes, and lives of his unhappy subjects. His tyranny was productive of many miseries, to himself, his family, and his people; and yet, such is the wisdom and goodness of divine providence! it became the occasion of many blessings to posterity. For his intolerable oppressions drove his barons into the field, and procured them the Great Charter, which perhaps they

A. D. 1216.

would not have asked from a better, nor obtained from a braver prince.

His issue.

King John, besides many natural children, left two legitimate sons, and three daughters; viz. Henry, born October 1st, A. D. 1207; Richard, born January 6th, A. D. 1209; Jane, married to Alexander king of Scotland; Eleanor, married first to the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to the famous earl of Leicester; and Isabella, married to the emperor Frederic II.

History of
Wales.

DAVID AP OWEN succeeded his father Owen Gwyneth in the government of North Wales, A. D. 1169, to the exclusion of Llewelyn, his eldest brother's son, and kept possession of it to A. D. 1194. He was then dispossessed by prince Llewelyn; and being defeated in several attempts he made to recover what he had lost, he died, it is said, of a broken heart A. D. 1204. From that time Llewelyn defended his dominions with so much valour, and governed them with so much wisdom, to his death, A. D. 1240, that he was much honoured and loved by the Welsh, who gave him the pompous title of *The Great*¹⁹¹. To relate the almost innumerable quarrels of the Welsh among themselves, and with the English upon their borders, in this period, would take up much room, and could afford little instruction or entertainment. It is sufficient to say, that they were the same brave and warlike people

¹⁹¹ Powel's History of Wales, p. 227—299.

they

they had ever been; and as they were under the direction of many petty chieftains, and had a most invincible antipathy to their nearest neighbours, they were almost constantly engaged in war against one another, or against the English.

William the Lion, king of Scotland, reigned almost half a century, and was the contemporary of three kings of England. In the former part of his reign he was so unfortunate as to be taken prisoner (as hath been already related), and obliged to sacrifice the independency of his kingdom to recover the freedom of his person. In the present period he was more prosperous. For Richard I. before his departure for the Holy Land, in order to gain the friendship of the king and people of Scotland, that they might not disturb the peace of his dominions in his absence, and in order to procure a sum of money, of which he stood in need, agreed to restore William and his kingdom to their former independency. This was accordingly done at Canterbury, 5th December, A. D. 1189, by a charter, in which he restores the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, relinquishes all obligations that his father Henry had extorted from William in his captivity; releases the people of Scotland from the oaths of homage they had taken to Henry, and gives up all charters containing these obligations and oaths¹⁹². For this valuable charter William paid to Richard ten thousand

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¹⁹² Rym. Fœdera, vol. 1. p. 64.

A.D. 1176.

marks, equal in quantity of silver to about twenty thousand pounds of our money at present, and in efficacy to one hundred thousand pounds at least ¹⁹³. This generous concession of Richard seems to have gained the hearts of the king and people of Scotland, who could not be prevailed upon to join with the king of France and prince John in their schemes against that unfortunate prince in his distress, but, on the contrary, contributed a considerable sum of money towards his ransom ¹⁹⁴. William visited Richard on his return to England after his captivity, assisted at his second coronation, obtained a charter, regulating the entertainment of the kings of Scotland in their journeys to and from the court of England; but could not obtain the restitution of the northern counties ¹⁹⁵.

The internal tranquillity of Scotland was disturbed in the years 1196 and 1197, by some insurrections in Caithness and Sutherland; but they were soon suppressed, and their authors punished ¹⁹⁶. Several schemes had been proposed for settling the succession of the crown in case the king, who was now old, should happen to die without male issue; but queen Ermangard was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, A. D. 1198, which put an end to all these

¹⁹³ Benedict. Abbas, p. 576.

¹⁹⁴ Chron. de Mailros, ad ann. 1193.

¹⁹⁵ Hoveden. Annal. p. 420, &c. Rymer Fœdera, tom. i. p. 87.

¹⁹⁶ Chron. Mailros, p. 180, 181.

schemes,

schemes, to the great joy both of the king and his subjects ¹⁹⁷. A.D. 12

After the accession of king John to the crown of England, William did homage to him at Lincoln, 22d November, A. D. 1200, for his lands in England, with a saving of the rights of his crown ¹⁹⁸. He then demanded, as he had often done before, the restitution of the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmorland; but, at John's earnest request, allowed him till Whitsunday after to give his answer to this demand; which he delayed still longer to give, on various pretences ¹⁹⁹. John's repeated delays to return a direct answer to the demand of the northern counties, and his erecting a castle opposite to Berwick, in which he was interrupted by William, increased the misunderstanding between the two monarchs, and threatened a war. To prevent this, John and William held a conference at Norham, A. D. 1204; but separated without any positive agreement ²⁰⁰. When things had continued some years in this unsettled state, an open rupture took place, and both kings appeared at the head of their armies on the borders, A. D. 1209, seemingly resolved to determine all their disputes by the sword, which they had long laboured in vain to settle by negotiation. But a battle was prevented by the interposition of the nobles of both nations, the armies

¹⁹⁷ Chron. Mailros, p. 180, 181.

¹⁹⁸ R. Hoveden, ad ann. 1200, p. 461. col. 2.

¹⁹⁹ Id. ibid.

²⁰⁰ Fordun, l. 2. c. 66.

were

A D. 1216.

were disbanded, and a conference appointed to be held between the two kings at Newcastle. The king of Scotland being suddenly taken ill at the beginning of the conference, nothing was concluded but a short truce; at the expiration of which both kings collected their forces, and marched again to the borders²⁰¹. The nobles interposed a second time, and procured a meeting between their sovereigns at Norham; in which a treaty of peace was concluded on conditions that are not very well known, because the charter in which they were contained hath never been published, and is probably destroyed. All we know with certainty is,—that the king of Scotland bound himself to pay to John, 15,000 marks in two years, by four equal payments, to gain his good will, and to fulfil the conventions contained in a charter confirmed by both kings; —that he gave hostages to secure the payment of that money;—and that he put his two daughters into the hands of the king of England²⁰². The only question is, What were the conditions contained in that charter, for which so great a sum of money was paid, and the princesses were delivered? An English parliament, about thirty years after this, declared, that the conditions were,—That the two princesses should be married to king John's two sons; and that the money, together with a renunciation of his claim to the northern counties, was given by William

²⁰¹ Fordun, l. 3. c. 69.²⁰² Rymer Fœdera, t. 1. c. 155.

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as their marriage-portion²⁰³. This is further confirmed by the claim to the northern counties being renewed by king Alexander, the son and successor of William, and the repayment of the 15,000 marks demanded, because the stipulations contained in that charter had not been performed²⁰⁴. William the Lion, after a lingering illness, died at Stirling, 6th December, A. D. 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-ninth of his reign²⁰⁵. A. D. 1

Alexander II. the only legitimate son of William, succeeded his father in the throne of Scotland, and was crowned at Scone, 20th December, A. D. 1214, being then in the seventeenth year of his age²⁰⁶. This young prince espoused the cause of the English barons against king John, because these barons engaged to surrender to him the northern counties, which had long been the great object of the ambition of the kings of Scotland. To fulfil his engagements with his allies, he raised an army, marched into Northumberland, and received the homage of the barons of that county, at Felton, 18th October A. D. 1215²⁰⁷. King John, being now at the head of a powerful army of mercenaries, directed his march northward, destroying the estates of the confederated barons of Yorkshire; who retired into Scotland, and did homage to Alexander at the Alexander II.

²⁰³ Additamenta M. Parisiensis, p. 99. col. 1.

²⁰⁴ Rymer Fœd. t. 1 p. 375. col. 1.

²⁰⁵ Chron. Mailros, p. 186.

²⁰⁶ Id. ibid.

²⁰⁷ Id. p. 189.

Ch. 1. § 4. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

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²⁰⁶ Id. ibid.

²⁰⁷ Id. p. 189.

A D. 1216.  abbey of Melros, 15th January A. D. 1216²⁰⁸. But nothing could stop the progress of John and his mercenaries, who, in their march, burnt the towns of Morpeth, Alnwick, Wark, and Bokesborough, and having taken Berwick, perpetrated the most horrid cruelties on the inhabitants. Advancing into Scotland, they burnt the towns of Dunbar and Haddington, and in their return the abbey of Coldingham and the town of Berwick; John declaring, that he was determined to smoke the little Red Fox (so he called Alexander) out of his hole²⁰⁹. King John being obliged to return into the south, to oppose an expected invasion from France, under prince Louis, Alexander invaded Cumberland in the month of February; and some of the Scots in his army, by whom the historians of those times mean the people of the highlands, robbed the abbey of Holmcultram; but in their way home with their booty, about two thousand of them were drowned in the river Eden²¹⁰. Alexander invaded Cumberland a second time, in the month of July, with all his army, except the Scots, i. e. the highlanders, and, in August, he took the city, but not the castle of Carlisle²¹¹. From thence he marched with his army quite through England, plundering the estates of those barons who adhered to John; and arriving at Dover, where Louis was besieging the castle, he did

²⁰⁸ Chron. Mailros, p. 190.

²⁰⁹ Id. ibid. M. Paris ad ann. 1215, 1216. p. 191.

²¹⁰ Chron. Mailros, p. 190.

²¹¹ Id. p. 191.

homage

homage to that prince for all his lands in Eng-
land, and particularly for the counties of Nor-
thumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland,
which were granted to him by charter²¹². On his
return home he met with some obstruction in pass-
ing the Trent, from the army of king John;
from which he was relieved by the death of that
prince at Newark, 19th October 1216.

A.D. 12

²¹² Rymer Fœd. tom. 2. p. 217.

Cent. XI.

But as the Normans, English, and all the other nations of Britain, had embraced the Christian religion long before the beginning of this period, nothing of that kind is necessary in the present chapter; in which it will be sufficient to give a very brief detail of the most important ecclesiastical transactions, in the order of time in which they happened.

Anglo-Saxon prelates deprived, and Normans put in their fees.

Soon after William the Conqueror was seated in the throne of England, he seems to have formed the design of depriving the most eminent of the English clergy of their dignities in the church, in order to bestow them on his countrymen, or on others on whose attachment he could depend. To accomplish this design with the greater ease, he engaged the pope to send legates into England, for regulating the affairs of that church, which he pretended were in great disorder². The papal legates, John and Peter, two cardinal priests, and Hermanfrede bishop of Sion, held a great council of the English clergy, in the presence of the king, at Winchester, on the octaves of Easter, A. D. 1070; in which Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, Agilmarc bishop of Norwich, and several English abbots, were deposed, on various pretences³. In another council, convened at Windsor on Whitsunday that same year, Agilric bishop of Chi-

² Lanfranc Opera, p. 7. Orderic. Vital. p. 516.

³ Wilkins Concilia, t. 1. p. 322. W. Malm. de Gestis Pontific. p. 117.

chester,

chester, and some more English abbots, were deposited: with which severities the bishops of Lincoln and Durham were so much alarmed, that they left their sees, and retired into Scotland. By these depositions and resignations, as well as by the death of several English prelates, many of the chief dignities of the church were now vacant, which were all filled with the king's foreign favourites and countrymen. Lanfranc abbot of Caen, and Thomas canon of Bayeux, were made archbishops of Canterbury and York, while Walkelin, Walkeline, Herefast, Stigand, Peter, Herman, and Remigius, all Normans, were placed in the sees of Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Chichester, Lichfield, Salisbury, and Lincoln.

Cent. X

These fortunate foreigners, exalted by the fall, and enriched by the spoils of the unhappy English, did not long continue in a state of harmony amongst themselves, but a most violent quarrel broke out between the two archbishops about the primacy. When Thomas, elect of York, came to Canterbury to be consecrated, Lanfranc, on the day appointed for that ceremony, demanded of him an oath and written profession of canonical obedience to himself and successors, as primates of all England; which the other absolutely refusing, departed in great anger, without being consecrated. But Lanfranc having con-

Dispute
about the
primacy

* Simeon Dunelm. col. 202. Wilkin. Concil. t. i. p. 323.

† Inett's Church History, vol. 2. p. 14, 15.

Cent. XI.

vinced the king and his council of the justice of his claim, Thomas was commanded to return, and take the oath, and make a profession of obedience to Lanfranc, without mentioning his successors; and with this command he thought proper to comply⁶.

A.D. 1071.
&c.

That dispute determined in favour of Canterbury.

This year the two new archbishops of England made a journey to Rome to receive their palls; and when they were there, Thomas complained to the pope of the submission he had been constrained by royal authority to make at his consecration; affirming, that the sees of York and Canterbury were of equal dignity. On the other hand, Lanfranc produced various evidences of the superiority of his see. But the holy father, unwilling to offend either of the prelates, or disoblige the king of England, declined to judge in that matter, and declared, that it ought to be determined by an English synod⁷. Accordingly two great councils were held, one at Easter, and the other at Whitsuntide, A. D. 1072, in which this important question of the primacy was debated with great warmth, in the presence of the king, queen, and all the court; and at length determined in favour of Canterbury, to the great mortification of the clerical pride of the one prelate, and exultation of the other⁸.

⁶ W. Malmf. p. 117.⁷ Id. ibid.⁸ W. Malmf. p. 117. Lanfran. Opera, p. 301. Wilkin. Concil.

7. P. 327.

... After

After this dispute was determined, Lanfranc presided in several councils of the clergy of both provinces, in which many ecclesiastical canons were made, though few of them are intitled to the attention of posterity. By one of these councils very severe penances were prescribed to those who had killed or wounded any person in the battle of Hastings, commonly called *the great battle*, whether they had fought for or against the duke of Normandy. The archers who could not know how many men they had killed or wounded, were to do penance for three lents. All these penances might be redeemed by money, or by building and endowing churches; to promote which was probably the intention of the council in these tyrannical impositions⁹. By the eighth canon of a council held at London, A. D. 1075, it is decreed, "That the bones of dead animals shall not be hung up, to drive away the pestilence from cattle; and that forcery, sooth-sayings, divinations, and such works of the devil, shall not be practised"¹⁰. The celibacy of the clergy had been enjoined by a thousand canons, but as yet without a full effect. So difficult is it for the laws of men to overcome the laws of nature! By one of the canons of an English council, held at Winchester A. D. 1076, the secular clergy who had wives, are allowed to keep them; which is a sufficient

Cent.
1075,
Several
council
held.

⁹ Johnson's Ecclesiastical Canon, vol. 2. A. D. 1072.

¹⁰ Id. ibid. A. D. 1076. Spelman Concil. l. 2. p. 7.

Cent. XI.

proof that they formed a very powerful party: but those who had not wives, are forbidden to marry; and bishops are prohibited for the future to ordain any man who had a wife¹¹.

Extrava-
gant
claims of
pope Gre-
gory VII.
rejected.

Pope Alexander II. having died, April 20th, A. D. 1073, he was immediately succeeded by the famous Hildebrand, archdeacon of Rome, who assumed the name of Gregory VII. and became the most turbulent and aspiring pontiff that had ever filled St. Peter's chair. So boundless was the ambition of this haughty priest, that he claimed the supreme dominion of the whole world, and attempted to bring all emperors, kings, and princes, under subjection to his authority¹². In prosecution of those insolent pretensions, he dispatched his legate Hubert into England, to assert his title to that kingdom, and demand an oath of fealty from king William, together with the immediate payment of all the arrears of Peter-pence, which he affected to call a tribute. But William (though he had always professed great veneration for the bishops of Rome, by whom he had been countenanced in his attempt on England) rejected the demand of homage with becoming indignation, and only promised to send Peter-pence as a free gift, in imitation of his predecessors¹³. Still further to mortify the pride and resist the pretensions of the

¹¹ Spelman Concil. l. 2. p. 13.

¹² Du Pin. Eccles. Hist. cent. xi. c. 5. p. 33, &c.

¹³ Epist. Wilhelm. Opera Lanfr. p. 304.

pope,

pope, he would not permit Lanfranc to leave the kingdom, though that pontiff had sent him several letters commanding him to come to Rome ¹⁴. These affronts wrought up the rage of Gregory to so high a pitch, that, in a letter to his legate Hubert, A. D. 1078, he gave William the most opprobrious names, and threatened to make him feel the resentment of St. Peter ¹⁵. But St. Peter was either not so vindictive as his successor Gregory, or king William was without the reach of his resentment.

Cent.

A considerable change was introduced into the creed of the church of England under the primacy, and chiefly by the means, of archbishop Lanfranc. The present doctrine of the church of Rome concerning the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, called *transubstantiation*, was little known, and less regarded, in this island before the Norman conquest ¹⁶. But Lanfranc was one of the most zealous champions for that doctrine, of the age in which he flourished, and disputed, wrote, and preached in its defence, both before and after his elevation to the see of Canterbury ¹⁷. This elevation, however, it is highly probable, gave additional weight to his arguments, and enabled him to make many proselytes.

Change
the cre
of the
church
Engl

¹⁴ Greg. Epist. l. 9. Ep. 20. Concil. l. 10. col. 291.

¹⁵ Id. ibid.

¹⁶ See vol. 3. p. 286.

¹⁷ Du Pin Eccles. Hist. cent. 11. c. 3. p. 3.

Cent. XI.

Changes
in the po-
lity of the
church of
England.

William the Conqueror exercised his supremacy over the church of England with a high hand, and made some important changes both in the state of its revenues and of its polity. Finding the English clergy and monasteries possessed of far too great a proportion of the riches of the kingdom, he stript them of many of their estates by various means, and subjected those they still retained to military services and other feudal prestations¹⁸: a reasonable regulation, that those who enjoyed so large a share of the wealth, should contribute in the same proportion with others to the defence and support, of the state. So strict an eye did he keep over the clergy in the exercise of discipline, and government of the church, that he did not allow any of them—to go out of the kingdom without his leave,—to acknowledge any pope without his direction,—to publish any letters from Rome, till he had seen and approved them,—to hold any councils, or to make any canons, without his consent—or to pronounce a sentence of excommunication on any of his nobles, without his permission¹⁹. But the most considerable change that this prince made in the constitution of the church of England, was towards the conclusion of his reign, when he separated the ecclesiastical from the civil courts, which in the Anglo-Saxon

¹⁸ M. Paris, p. 4. *Historia Ingulphi*, p. 70, 71.

¹⁹ Eadmer. *Hist.* p. 6. *Seldeni Specilegium*, p. 164.

times had been united²⁰: a change that was attended with very important consequences both to church and state.

Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury died May 28th, A. D. 1089, having survived his royal friend and patron, William the Conqueror, about one year and eight months²¹. This prelate is celebrated by our ancient historians for his wisdom, learning, munificence, and other virtues. His charity in particular is said to have been so great, that he bestowed in that way no less than five hundred pounds a year²²: a prodigious sum in those times! equal in weight to one thousand five hundred pounds of our money, and in value to at least seven thousand five hundred pounds. This is a sufficient proof of the great revenues of the see of Canterbury in that period, as well as of the great generosity of this prelate.

After the death of Lanfranc, William Rufus, then king of England, was in no haste to give him a successor, but kept all the possessions of the archbishopric in his own hands, almost five years²³. In this interval the bishops and clergy tried various methods to prevail upon the king to appoint a primate; but in vain. At one time, when they presented a petition, that he would give them leave to send a form of prayer to be used in all the churches of England,—“ That

²⁰ Seldeni Specilegium, p. 167.

²¹ J. Brompt. col. 950.

²² Gervas, Act. Pontific. col. 1655. W. Malms. p. 118.

²³ Eadmer. Hist. p. 14.

Cent. XI.

“ God would move the heart of the king to
 “ chuse an archbishop;” he returned this care-
 less answer,—“ You may pray as you please; I
 “ will do as I please²⁴.” At length, however,
 being seized with a severe sickness, which
 threatened his life, he was prevailed upon to fill
 up the vacant sees of Lincoln and Canterbury,
 by nominating Robert Bloet, his chancellor, to
 the first, and Anselm, abbot of Beck in Nor-
 mandy (who was then at court), to the last.
 Anselm at first discovered great reluctance to
 accept of this high dignity, dreading the fierce
 rapacious temper of the king, to which he was
 no stranger. “ The plough (said he) of the
 “ church of England should be drawn by two
 “ oxen, of equal strength, the king, and the
 “ archbishop of Canterbury; but if you yoke
 “ me, who am a weak old sheep, with this king,
 “ who is a mad young bull, the plough will not
 “ go straight²⁵.” But as men’s refusals of places
 of power and wealth are seldom very obstinate,
 those of Anselm were overcome at last, and he
 condescended to mount the archiepiscopal throne,
 December 4th, A. D. 1093, having done homage
 to the king for the temporalities, and received
 investiture by the pastoral staff and ring, Septem-
 ber 25th²⁶.

1095.
 Breach be-
 tween the

Anselm’s apprehensions of having quarrels with
 the king were not ill founded; but these quar-

²⁴ W. Malmf. p. 124. col. 1.

²⁵ Id. *ibid.*

²⁶ Id. p. 125. col. 1. Eadmer, p. 16, 17, 18.

rels were owing to his own obstinate and presumptuous bigotry. In a few weeks after his consecration, he waited on the king at Hastings; but paid his court so ill,—by declining to make him such a present as was expected,—by pressing him too earnestly to call a council of the clergy, and to fill up the vacant abbeys—and by reproving him and his courtiers too freely for their long hair, their gaudy dress, and effeminate manners, that William could not refrain from expressing his dissatisfaction in very strong terms²⁷. At their next meeting, after the king's return from Normandy, A. D. 1094, the breach between them became still wider. The Christian world had long been divided between the two contending popes, Urban and Clement; but the kingdom of England had not as yet acknowledged either the one or the other. Anselm had submitted to Urban before his promotion to the primacy, and now petitioned the king for leave to go to Rome and receive his pall from that pontiff. William was enraged beyond measure at this petition, which he declared was directly contrary to that obedience which the archbishop had sworn in his oath of fealty, as well as to the laws of England. At length, after much angry altercation, this dispute was referred to a great council of the nobility and prelates, which met at Rockingham, March 11th, A. D. 1095²⁸.

Cent.
king and
the primate.

²⁷ Eadmer, p. 23, 24. *Anglia Sacra*, l. i. p. 164.

²⁸ Eadmer, p. 26.

To

Cent. XI.

To this council, on the first day of their meeting, Anselm made a long harangue, in which, amongst other things, the good prelate told them, "That he would much rather have been burnt alive than have been made an archbishop;" and concluded with proposing this question as the subject of their deliberation,— "Whether his going to Rome to receive his pall from pope Urban, was contrary to his oath of fealty, and the laws of England?" The council then adjourned, because it was Sunday; and having met again on Monday, after long deliberation, sent this answer to the archbishop by the bishops, "that unless he yielded obedience to the king, and retracted his submission to pope Urban, they would not acknowledge or obey him as their primate." On hearing this sentence, the archbishop lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and with great solemnity appealed to St. Peter, whose vicar he declared he was determined to obey, rather than the king; and, upon the bishops declining to report his words, he went boldly into the council, and pronounced them before the king and his nobility. The debates were then renewed with greater warmth than ever, and lasted all day; but towards evening the former sentence was confirmed, and intimated to the primate; who begged to be allowed till next morning to deliberate upon his answer. The king and council were now in hopes that the archbishop would resign his see, which was what they most ardently desired,

as the only means of restoring the peace of the kingdom, which had been much disturbed by this dispute. But if Anselm had an aversion to accept of the archbishopric, he discovered a much greater aversion to resign it. For next morning he both adhered to his former answer, and declared his resolution never to resign his see. When things were brought to this extremity, some of the nobility, who respected the sacerdotal character, and dreaded that the passionate spirit of William would prompt him to some act of violence, proposed a truce till the octaves of Easter; which was accepted by both parties²⁹.

Cent. X

In this interval, William, despairing to overcome the obstinacy of the archbishop by violence, had recourse to artifice, and privately sent two of his chaplains to Rome, to make an offer to Urban, to acknowledge him as pope, if he would consent to the deposition of Anselm, and send a pall to the king, to be bestowed on whom he pleased. Urban, transported with joy at the accession of so powerful a prince and so great a kingdom to his party, promised every thing, and sent Walter bishop of Alba his legate into England with a pall. The legate passed through Canterbury, without seeing the archbishop; and arriving at court, prevailed upon the king to issue a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to acknowledge Urban II. as lawful pope³⁰. But when the king, having performed all his

The king
deceived
by the
pope.²⁹ Eadmer, p. 31.³⁰ W. Mahmf. de Gest. Pontific. p. 125.

promises,

Cent. XI.

promises, began to speak of proceeding to the deposition of the archbishop, and demanded the pall, that he might give it to the prelate who should be chosen in his room, the legate changed his tone, and plainly declared, that the pope would not consent to the deposition of so great a saint, and so dutiful a son of the church of Rome; and that he had received orders to deliver the pall to Anselm; which he accordingly performed with great pomp in the cathedral of Canterbury³¹. It is easy to imagine how much a prince of William's haughty and passionate temper was enraged at this perfidious conduct of the court of Rome; but as he was engaged in an expedition into Normandy, he had not leisure to give vent to his resentment.

1097.
Anselm
leaves
England.

Soon after the king's return from Normandy, the quarrel between him and the archbishop was revived, by that prelate's frequent and importunate applications for the royal permission to visit Rome, for the good of his soul, and the benefit of the church. At length the king (wearied out with these incessant solicitations, and having in vain tried every method to dissuade the primate from persisting in his design), at the meeting of the great council in October A. D. 1097, commanded him to leave the kingdom in eleven days, without carrying any of his effects with him; and declared, at the same time, that he

³¹ W. Malmf. de Gest. Pontific. p. 126. col. 1.

should

should never be permitted to return³². Anselm Cent. 3 had no sooner extorted this passionate permission to depart the kingdom, than he hastened to Canterbury; where having divested himself of his archiepiscopal robes, and assumed the garb of a pilgrim, he set out on his journey. After he had waited for a favourable wind about fifteen days at Dover, (where his baggage was strictly searched by the king's officers), he sailed for Whitfande, and proceeded from thence to Lyons before he made any considerable stop³³. Here he wrote a letter to the pope, giving an account of his grievances in England, and of his departure from it, and desiring the assistance and direction of his holiness; hinting, that since he had little prospect of doing any good in a country where justice and religion were so much despised by persons of all ranks, it would be right to allow him to resign his see³⁴. The king of England had, in the mean time, seized all the estates and revenues of Canterbury into his own hands; and declared all the acts of Anselm to be null and void³⁵.

As soon as the archbishop received an answer to his letter, with an invitation from the pope to come to Rome, he set forward on his journey, on the Tuesday before Palm-Sunday, A. D. 1098, attended only by two faithful friends, Baldwin his steward, and Eadmer the historian,

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tions
there.

³² Eadmer, p. 37, 38, 39, 40. Diceto apud X Script. col. 495.

³³ Id. ibid,

³⁴ Id. p. 43.

³⁵ Id. p. 41.

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his secretary. They were obliged to travel in disguise, and under borrowed names, to avoid the ambuscades that were laid for them by Clement the antipope, and by several companies of banditti, who, having heard that the archbishop of Canterbury was on his way to Rome with great treasures, were on the watch to intercept him³⁶. At length, after going through much fatigue, and no little danger, they arrived at Rome; and met with the kindest reception from the pope, who lodged them in his own palace. Our monkish historians give the most pompous accounts of the extraordinary honours that were paid to Anselm by the pope, the duke of Apulia, the nobility, clergy, and people of Rome, on this occasion. His holiness made a long speech to him before his whole court, in which he loaded him with praises, called him the pope of another world, and commanded all the English who should come to Rome to kiss his toe³⁷. He further promised to support him with all his power in his disputes with the king of England; and wrote a letter to that prince, commanding him to restore all that he had taken from the archbishop³⁸. Such was the high tone assumed by the popes of those times in their letters to the greatest kings. Anselm assisted at the council held by the pope at Bari, in the third week after Easter,

³⁶ Eadmer, p. 44.³⁷ J. Sarikouricel. Vita Anselmi, in Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 166. W. Malmf. p. 127.³⁸ Eadmer, p. 45.

and.

and acquired great honour by a speech he made in it, against the heresy of the Greek church about the procession of the Holy Ghost. The holy father, in particular (who had been much puzzled in the course of the debate), was so much charmed with this speech, that at the conclusion of it he cried out, "Blessed be thy heart and thy senses, O Anselm! blessed be thy mouth, and the speeches of thy mouth."³⁹ The archbishop was present in another papal council held at Rome towards the end of this year, in which it was declared, that the king of England deserved excommunication for his treatment of Anselm; but at the request of that prelate, the execution of that sentence was postponed.⁴⁰ At this council the famous canon against lay-investitures was confirmed, denouncing excommunication against all lay-men who presumed to grant investitures of any ecclesiastical benefices, and against all clergymen who accepted of such investitures, or did homage to temporal princes⁴¹: a canon that Anselm remembered too well for his own peace, and for the peace of England. The reason assigned for this canon by the pope, as related by one who was present in the council, and heard his speech, is horrid and impious in the highest degree. "It is execrable," said his holiness, "to see those hands which create God, the creator of all things (a power never

³⁹ Eadmer, p. 49.⁴⁰ Id. p. 50.⁴¹ Anglia Sacra, p. 167. Eadmer, p. 53.

"granted

Cent. XI.

“ granted to angels), and offer him in sacrifice
 “ to the Father for the redemption of the whole
 “ world, put between the hands of a prince;
 “ stained with blood, and polluted day and
 “ night with obscene contacts. To which all the
 “ fathers of the council cried, Amen! Amen!
 “ At these transactions (says Eadmerus) I was
 “ present, and all these things I saw and
 “ heard ⁴².”

King's an-
 swer to a
 letter from
 the pope.

The messenger who had been sent into Eng-
 land with a letter from the pope to the king, in
 favour of Anselm, returned about the end of this
 year, with very unwelcome news. He told his
 holiness, that it was with much difficulty the
 king was persuaded to receive and read his letter;
 and that when he was informed that the bearer of
 it was a servant of Anselm, he swore by the
 image of Christ at Lucca (his usual oath), that if
 he did not leave England immediately, he would
 pull out his eyes; which made him retire, with-
 out waiting for an answer. Soon after, one
 William arrived, with the following short and
 peremptory answer to the pope's letter: “ I am
 “ much surprised how it came into your head to
 “ intercede for the restoration of Anselm. Before
 “ he left my kingdom, I warned him that I
 “ would seize all the revenues of his see as soon
 “ as he departed. I have done what I threatened,
 “ and what I had a right to do; and you are in
 “ the wrong to blame me ⁴³.” Anselm, on seeing

⁴² Eadmer, p. 53.

⁴³ Id. p. 51.

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August 20

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⁴⁴ Eadmer,

⁴⁶ Spotfwo

Cent. XI.



bishop of St. Andrew's in the eighth year of Ralph bishop of Durham, viz. A. D. 1107⁴⁷. It appears also from the testimony of an ancient English historian, that Feredoch was bishop of St. Andrew's towards the end of king Malcolm's reign, and probably continued in that station to the reign of king Alexander⁴⁸. Though it is highly probable that several national councils were held in Scotland in this period, no vestiges of any of them are now remaining.

SECTION II.

History of Religion in Britain, from the accession of Henry I. A. D. 1100, to the accession of Henry II. A. D. 1154.

Cent. XII.



A. D. 1100.

Anselm re-

called by

Henry I.

HENRY I. the youngest son of William the Conqueror, having supplanted his elder brother Robert in the throne of England, laboured with great earnestness to gain the favour of all who could either support or disturb him in the possession of the prize he had obtained, and amongst others of the pope and court of Rome. With this view he immediately recalled the great favourite and champion of that court, Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, from his exile; who

⁴⁷ Simeon Dunelm. apud X Script. col. 207. Anglia Sacra, l. 1. p. 707.

⁴⁸ Th. Stubbs, apud X Script. col. 1709.

landed at Dover, September 23d, A. D. 1100¹. A few days after, he was received at Salisbury by the king, with every possible mark of affection and respect; and that prince even condescended to make an apology to him for being crowned by another prelate before his arrival².

Cent

But this cordiality between the king and the primate was not of long continuance. For as soon as Anselm was desired to do homage to the king for the temporalities of his see, he returned a flat refusal, and produced the canon of the late council of Rome in vindication of his conduct; declaring, that if the king insisted on his pretensions to the homage of the clergy, he could keep no communion with him, and would immediately leave the kingdom³. This threw Henry into great perplexity. On the one hand he was very unwilling to resign so bright a jewel of his crown, as the right of bestowing ecclesiastical benefices, and of receiving the homage of his prelates; and, on the other hand, he dreaded the departure of the primate, who would join the party of his brother Robert, now returned to Normandy, and preparing to assert his right to the throne of England. In this distress the king proposed, or rather begged a truce, till both parties could send ambassadors to the pope, to know his final determination; to which Anselm, at the earnest intreaty of the nobility, at last agreed⁴.

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tweet
king:
Aniel¹ Eadmer, p. 56.² Id. *ibid.*³ Id. *ibid.*⁴ Id. *ibid.*

Cent. XII.

Anselm
performs
some im-
portant
services to
the king.

1101.

In the time of this truce, Anselm performed several important services for king Henry. He presided in a council of the English clergy, in which, after a very solemn investigation, it was declared, that the princess Matilda (daughter of Malcolm Canmore king of Scotland), who had been educated in a nunnery, and had sometimes worn a veil, was at liberty to marry: and he soon after celebrated the king's marriage with that princess, and placed the crown on her head⁵. When the kingdom was invaded by Robert duke of Normandy, in July A. D. 1101, Anselm contributed more than any man, by his example, his exhortations, and his authority, to keep the nobility steady in their attachment to king Henry, and thereby preserved him upon the throne⁶. To engage the primate to perform these services, we are assured by Eadmerus, his friend and secretary, that the king solemnly promised to govern his kingdom by his advice, and submit in all things to the will of the pope⁷.

Extra-
gant letter
of the
popereabout
investi-
tures.

If the king made such promises in the time of danger, which is not improbable, he did not think fit to keep them when that danger was at an end. Soon after the pacification with his brother Robert, which secured him in the possession of the crown of England, his messengers arrived from Rome with letters from the pope, in which his holiness asserted, in the strongest terms,

⁵ Eadmer, p. 57, 58.⁶ See chap. I. p. 58.⁷ Eadmer, p. 59. *Anglia Sacra*, t. 2. p. 172.

—That

—That the church, and all its revenues, belonged entirely to St. Peter and his successors; and that emperors, kings, and princes, had no right to give the investiture of benefices to the clergy, or to demand homage from them. This he endeavoured to prove by several texts of scripture, most grossly misapplied, and by other arguments, which are either blasphemy or nonsense⁸. Amongst other things of the like kind, “ —How abominable is it (said he) for a son to beget his father, and a man to create his God? and are not priests your fathers and your Gods?”

Henry seems rather to have been irritated than convinced by this curious piece of papal reasoning. For, the first time the primate appeared at court, he required him in a peremptory tone to do homage to him for the revenues of his see, and to consecrate certain bishops and abbots, according to ancient custom, or depart the kingdom; adding,—“ I will suffer no subject to live in my dominions who refuses to do me homage⁹. The archbishop boldly answered,—“ I am prohibited, by the canons of the council of Rome, to do what you require.—I will not depart the kingdom, but stay in my province, and perform my duty; and let me see who dares to do me any injury:” and immediately left the court, and returned to Canterbury¹⁰.

⁸ Eadmer, p. 60, 61.⁹ Id. p. 61.¹⁰ Id. ibid.¹¹ Id. p. 62. W. Malmf. p. 128.

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Council
of Win-
chester.
Ambas-
sadors sent
to Rome.

Not long after, the king convened a great council at Winchester, to which he summoned the primate; who attended. In this council it was at length agreed to send ambassadors to Rome, to declare to the pope, in the name of the king and nobility of England,—“ That if he persisted to deny the king’s right to investitures and homage, they would drive Anselm out of the kingdom, withdraw their subjection to the see of Rome, and withhold their usual payments.” Gerard archbishop of York, Herbert bishop of Norwich, and Robert bishop of Chester, persons of eminent abilities, as well as rank, were chosen ambassadors to carry this unwelcome message, and manage this difficult negotiation. Anselm, by permission, sent also two of his friends, Baldwin and Alexander, to take care of his concerns.”

1102.
Dupl. city
of the
pope.
Other am-
bassadors
sent to
Rome:

When these ambassadors arrived at Rome, the holy father was thrown into no small perplexity. On the one hand, he was unwilling to provoke the king and people of England too far; and, on the other, he was still more unwilling to relinquish his own pretensions, or abandon so good a friend as Anselm. But he delivered himself from this difficulty by his cunning, at the expence of his veracity. To the king’s ambassadors he made the most solemn promises in private, that he would wink at their master’s giving investitures and receiving ho-

” Eadmer, p. 62.

” Id. *ibid.*

mage; and that though he might threaten, he would never inflict any censures upon him on that account; but that he could not in prudence make such promises in public, or in writing, lest other princes should claim the same indulgence. To the primate's messengers he spoke a very different language; and gave them a letter to their master, exhorting him to adhere steadily to the canons against investiture and homage, and promising to support him with all his power. When the ambassadors of both parties returned to England, a great council was called at London, A. D. 1102, to receive their report. But how great was the surprise of the king and council, when the ambassadors gave contradictory reports? the three prelates affirming in the strongest terms, that the pope had promised to dispense with the execution of the canons against lay-investitures and homage; and the two monks affirming the direct contrary, and producing his holiness's letters in confirmation of their testimony. This occasioned very violent debates, and involved the matter in much uncertainty; the king, the bishops, and nobility, giving most credit to the report of the prelates, and Anselm and his friends to that of his messengers; while both parties suspected the duplicity of the pope¹⁴. In the end, the primate proposed to send other ambassadors to Rome to discover the real sentiments of the pope, and in the mean time pro-

¹⁴ Radmer, p. 63—66.

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misef to keep communion with those prelates who had received investiture from the king by the pastoral staff and ring; and his proposal was accepted ¹⁵.

Council at
Westmin-
ster.

While the controversy about investitures was at a stand, Anselm, with the king's consent, held a great council of the clergy at Westminster; in which several abbots were deposed for simony, and many canons were made. By one of these canons the married clergy were commanded to put away their wives; which was proceeding a step further than Lanfranc had done. By another canon it is decreed, that the sons of priests should not be heirs to their fathers churches. By a third, marriage is prohibited to those who are within the seventh degree of kindred:—a vexatious law, that brought great power and wealth to the church, and great inconveniencies on the state. The other canons of this council have nothing in them very remarkable, except the twenty-sixth, which forbids the worship of fountains; which seems to have been a relic of Druidical superstition ¹⁶.

1103.
Anselm
goes to
Rome at
the king's
desire.

The king had an interview with the archbishop at Canterbury about Mid-Lent, A. D. 1103, in which he laboured, both by threats and promises, to bring him to do homage for the temporalities of his see. But all in vain. That prelate replied, that his messengers were now

¹⁵ Eadmer, p. 63—66.

¹⁶ Id. p. 68. Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 23.

returned

returned from Rome, and had brought letters from the pope, which he had not yet opened, but declared that he was willing to be governed entirely by their contents. The king, knowing, or suspecting, what these were, answered in a violent passion,—“What have I to do with the “pope, or his letters? The prerogatives of my “predecessors belong to me; and whoever attempts to deprive me of them, shall feel the “weight of my indignation.” To which the primate calmly replied,—“I am determined to “die, rather than violate the canons of the “church without the commands of the pope.” Henry, observing that the firmness of the archbishop was not to be shaken by threatenings, changed his tone, and intreated that prelate to go to Rome, and endeavour to procure what others had not been able to obtain, “that I may “be allowed to enjoy the prerogatives of my “predecessors.” Anselm desired that this might be delayed till Easter, that the sentiments of the bishops and nobility might then be taken. Accordingly, when the great council met, as usual, at that festival, all the members joined with the king, and intreated the archbishop to undertake that journey: to which he consented, and set out without delay, April 29th, A. D. 1103.”

When Anselm arrived at the abbey of Becc in Normandy, where he had formerly been abbot,

Contents
of the
pope's let-
ters to
Anselm.

⁷ Eadmer, p. 70.

¹⁸ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁹ Id. *ibid.*

he

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he opened the pope's letters (which, for several prudential reasons, he had not done before), and found that they contained—the highest expressions of approbation of his own conduct,—the most solemn asseverations, that the report of the three English prelates who had lately been at Rome, was entirely false; for which he excommunicated them as impudent notorious liars. The pope further declared in these letters, that he was fully determined to see the canons against lay-investitures strictly executed. “For if we
 “allow (says he) kings and emperors to give a
 “bishop the staff, the sign of his pastoral office, and the ring, the sign of his faith, the
 “church, and even Christianity itself, will be
 “immediately destroyed.” Though, after reading these letters, Anselm could have no hopes of success in his embassy, which it is probable he did not desire, he set out from Becc, in August, and soon after arrived at Rome.

The king
sends an
agent to
Rome.

When the king desired Anselm to undertake this journey, he was far from expecting that he would be a zealous advocate in his cause; and therefore he did not depend upon him, but sent William Warelwast, an able, active, and faithful servant to the court of Rome, well furnished with certain arguments, that were likely to be most convincing in that most corrupt and venal court. William travelled with so much expedition, that he reached the end of his journey

²⁰ Eadmer, p. 71.

some weeks before the archbishop; and was so active and liberal, that he gained many friends, and began to entertain great hopes of success in his negotiation.

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A few days after the arrival of Anselm, the pope called a consistory to examine this cause; before which William Warelwaſt made a long harangue, in defence of the right of the king of England to grant investiture to the prelates of his kingdom, and to receive homage from them: nor did he neglect to put the assembly in mind of the great munificence of the kings of England to the church of Rome; and to insinuate, that if a favourable sentence was not given in this cause, that munificence would be withdrawn. Anselm remained entirely silent. When the matter came to be debated, several members, who had been gained, spoke in favour of the king of England's claim, and represented the danger of provoking so great a prince. To enforce their arguments, Warelwaſt declared, "That he knew his master was resolved to lose his kingdom, rather than relinquish his right to grant investitures." This bold declaration had an ill effect, by rousing the pride and passion of the sovereign pontiff; who said,—"And I swear before God, that pope Pascal will rather lose his life than suffer him to enjoy his pretended right." This positive declaration put an end to all debate; and a decree was pro-

Decree of the consistory of Rome against the king's right of granting investitures.

²¹ Eadmer, p. 72, 73.

nounced

Cent. XII.

nounced against the king's right to grant investitures, and excommunicating all prelates who had received, or should receive them from his hand, until they made satisfaction, and were absolved by their primate²². Still further to please the archbishop, the pope granted him a bull, confirming the primacy of England to him and his successors in the see of Canterbury; and then dismissed him with every mark of affection and esteem.

Soothing
letter
from the
pope to
the king.

The king's agent remained at Rome a few days after the departure of Anselm, in hopes of gaining some advantage in his absence: but all he could obtain was a soothing letter from the pope to Henry, in which he congratulated him on his successes in Normandy, and on the birth of his son; and assured him, that it was out of pure love to his person that he had taken the dangerous right of investitures from him, which would certainly have brought the vengeance of heaven upon his head. He further promised, that if he would be a very dutiful son of the church, and very kind and obedient to the archbishop, he would grant him, and his glorious queen, a full pardon of all their sins, and bestow many graces on the young prince their son²³.

Anselm
remains
abroad.

With this curious letter Warelwaft left Rome, and visited the archbishop of Canterbury at Lyons; to whom he intimated in the king's

²² Eadmer, p. 72, 73.

²³ Id. p. 74, 75.

name,

name,—“ That if he would behave to him as
 “ former archbishops of Canterbury had behaved
 “ to his predecessors, he might return to Eng-
 “ land.” In answer to this intimation, Anselm
 sent messengers of his own, with a very blunt
 letter to the king; in which he told him plainly,
 that he would not do homage to him as former
 archbishops had done to his predecessors; and
 that he would not keep communion with any of
 those prelates who had received the pastoral staff
 and ring from his hands; nor would he come
 into England on any other terms; protesting,
 that all the souls that should be lost by his ab-
 sence, should be laid to the king’s charge²⁴.
 As soon as the king received this letter, he seized
 all the revenues of the see of Canterbury; and
 Anselm continued at Lyons a year and four
 months in a state of exile.

Though Anselm was very hospitably enter-
 tained at Lyons by Hugh archbishop of that
 city, he neglected nothing that might contribute
 to his restoration to his own see, on his own
 terms. Having prevailed with the pope to issue
 a sentence of excommunication against the earl
 of Mellent, king Henry’s great favourite, and
 to promise to issue a like sentence against the
 king himself in a little time, he left Lyons in
 May A. D. 1105, and paid a visit to Adela
 countess of Blois, the king’s sister, who was a
 princess of great piety, and one of his greatest

1105.
 Meeting
 between
 the king
 and An-
 selm.

²⁴ Eadmer, p. 76.

admirers.

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admirers. In the course of their conversation, the countess having asked him, what was his principal design in coming into those parts? he frankly told her, that it was to publish a sentence of excommunication (which he daily expected from Rome) against her brother the king of England. The devout Adela was so grieved at her brother's damnation (as Eadmer expresses it), that she never rested till she had negotiated a meeting between him and the primate, in order to an accommodation²⁵.

Ambassadors sent
by both
to Rome.

When all preliminaries were settled, the countess conducted Anselm to the castle of L'Aigle in Normandy, and introduced him to the king, July 22d, A. D. 1105; who received him with the strongest expressions of esteem and friendship. After a little conversation, Henry restored to the archbishop the revenues of his see, and also gave him leave to return to England, on this single condition,—That he did not refuse to keep communion with those prelates who had received royal investitures. But with this condition Anselm declared he could not comply, until he had received directions from the pope, to whom he was determined in all things to yield obedience. It was therefore agreed, that both the king and the primate should send ambassadors to Rome, to receive the directions of the sovereign pontiff, on all subjects in dispute between them; and that all things should remain quiet till these am-

²⁵ Eadmer, p. 79, 80.

bassadors

ambassadors returned²⁶. After this interview the archbishop retired to the abbey of Becc, and Henry embarked for England.

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The king having thus warded off the blow of excommunication, which he really dreaded, was in no haste in sending his ambassador to Rome; which greatly offended Anselm, and his friends in England. One of these wrote him a letter at this time, in which he acquainted him, that religion was quite ruined by his absence, that sodomy and wearing long hair (which that good man seems to have regarded as equal crimes) were become very common, and no body had the courage to reprove them²⁷. At length, about Christmas A. D. 1105, the king sent over his former ambassador William Wareham, now bishop-elect of Exeter; who proceeded on his journey to Rome, in company with Baldwin de Torney, ambassador from the archbishop. While these messengers were negotiating at the court of Rome, the English bishops, foreseeing the approaching return of their primate, thought fit to send him a letter of invitation, containing some expressions of submission and respect²⁸.

Invitation
of the
English
bishops to
Anselm.

The king's agent at Rome acted his part so well, that he succeeded better in his negotiation than could have been expected. For, on March 23d, A. D. 1106, he obtained letters from the pope, directed to Anselm, permitting and requiring him to grant absolution to all the Eng-

1106.
Favourable letter
from the
pope to
the king.

²⁶ Eadmer, p. 79, 80.²⁷ Id p. 81.²⁸ Id p. 84.

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lish bishops and abbots who had received investiture from, and had done homage to, the king, on their making such satisfaction as William and Baldwin would tell him by word of mouth; and then either to consecrate them himself, or by commission. In future, he directed him not to refuse consecration to such bishops and abbots as had done homage to the king, provided they had not received investiture from him. He even commands him to receive into his communion those three prelates who had brought a false report from Rome, and to absolve the king, queen, and nobility of England, from all their sins. And finally, he advises him to behave with great prudence, gentleness, and meekness to the king and the nobles in time to come²⁹. By what means these concessions were obtained we are not informed. The pope seems to have been sensible that they were greater than Anselm expected; for which he made a kind of apology, by telling him, that in order to raise people from the ground, it was necessary to stoop a little.

Anselm
returns to
England.

King Henry was so heartily tired of his disputes with the pope and the primate, that he accepted of this compromise with pleasure, and sent an invitation to Anselm to return to England. But when that prelate was preparing for his journey, he was seized with a lingering illness that detained him several months longer on the continent. At length, however, he arrived

²⁹ Eadmer, p. 87.

at Dover, in August A. D. 1106; and was received with the highest testimonies of respect and joy by persons of all ranks³⁰.

Cent. 2

The absence of the king, who was then in Normandy, completing the conquest of that country, prevented the full settlement of ecclesiastical affairs in that year; and, even after his return, it was put off from time to time, till August 1st, A. D. 1107; when a great council of the bishops, abbots, and nobles, was held in the king's palace at London. In this council the right of the king and of other lay-patrons to give investitures, by the delivery of the pastoral staff and ring, was debated with great warmth for three days; many of the nobility pleading boldly in defence of their own rights, and of the rights of their sovereign. But, on the fourth day, the king put an end to this debate, by declaring, that he was determined to adhere to the late compromise, and to relinquish the ceremony of giving investiture, in order to secure the more important right of receiving the homage of the clergy; and a solemn act was made, agreeable to this declaration, viz. "That, for the future, none shall be invested by the king, or any lay-patron, in any bishopric or abbey, by delivering of a pastoral staff and ring; and none who is elected to any prelacy, shall be denied consecration on account of the homage that he does to the king³¹."

1107
Dispute
about h
mage a
investi-
turesco
promise

³⁰ Eadmer, p. 89.

³¹ Spelman-Concil. t. 2. p. 27. Eadmer, p. 91.

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Several
bishops
consecrated.

Immediately after the determination of this great controversy about investitures, Anselm consecrated no fewer than five bishops in one day (August 11th), with the assistance of seven of his suffragans³². About the same time he received a letter from pope Pascal II. permitting him to dispense with that canon of the church, which prohibited the ordination or promotion of the sons of priests. "Because (says the pope) the execution of it would be very inconvenient in England, where the best and greatest part of the clergy are of that kind³³." So long did the English ecclesiastics adhere to the laws of nature, in opposition to the barbarous policy of Rome.

See of Ely
erected.

In the end of this, or the beginning of the next year, a new bishopric was erected in the monastery of Ely, with the consent of the king, the pope, the primate, and all parties concerned; and Hervey, who had been expelled by the Welsh from the see of Bangor, was appointed the first bishop of that see³⁴.

1108.
Canons of
the council of London
against
the marriages of
the clergy.

Anselm was a violent enemy to the marriage of the clergy, and it was by his influence that the severe canons had been made against it in the council of London, A. D. 1102. But these canons had been ill observed, or rather totally neglected, during the disputes about investitures, and the exile of the archbishop; who procured

³² Eadmer, p. 92.³³ Id. p. 91.³⁴ Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 616.

another

another council to be held on that subject, at London, in Whitsuntide. A. D. 1108³⁵. In this council, in which the king and the nobility, as well as the prelates, were present, no fewer than ten canons were made to enforce the celibacy and prevent the marriage of the clergy. By these canons, all priests, even those in the very lowest orders, are commanded—to put away their wives immediately,—not to suffer them to live on any lands belonging to the church,—never to see them or speak with them, except in cases of great necessity, and in the presence of two or three witnesses.—Those who put away their wives, were to abstain from saying mass for forty days, and to perform such penances as their bishops should prescribe; but those unhallowed wretches who refused to put away their wives, were instantly to be deposed and excommunicated, and all their goods, together with the persons and goods of their wives, as in the case of adulteresses, were to be forfeited to the bishop of the diocese³⁶. These canons afford a sufficient proof, that those ecclesiastical tyrants found it no easy task to dissolve the natural and virtuous affection that subsisted between the clergy of England and their wives in this period.

While the rulers of the church of England were laying these restraints on the most innocent passions of the inferior clergy, they set no bounds

Quarrel
between
Anselm
and the
elect of
York.

³⁵ Eadmer, p. 94.

³⁶ Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 29. Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 388.

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to their own ambition, which produced amongst them many indecent quarrels. One of these quarrels happened A. D. 1108, between Anselm, and Thomas elect of York; who, observing the advanced age and increasing infirmities of the primate, delayed from time to time, under various pretences, to come to Canterbury to receive consecration; hoping, that after the death of Anselm, he might obtain it without making the humiliating profession of canonical obedience. But that prelate was too quick-sighted not to discover the secret intentions of the elect of York, and too tenacious of the prerogatives of his see, not to take the most vigorous measures to prevent their success. With this view he wrote to the pope not to grant Thomas his pall, and to all the bishops of England not to assist at his consecration, till he had made the usual professions of obedience; which he was at last, after a long and violent struggle, constrained to perform³⁷.

1109.
Death and
character
of Anselm.

Anselm, having languished for some months, died 20th April, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his primacy. He was a man of piety and learning, according to the mode and measure of the age in which he flourished; but by promoting with zeal and obstinacy the ambitious views of the see of Rome, he involved himself, as well as his king and country, in many troubles, and set an example

³⁷ Eadmer, p. 97—104.

which

which was too well imitated by some of his successors. Cent. 3

Henry had suffered so much from the opposition of the late primate, that he was in no haste to give him a successor; but kept the see of Canterbury vacant no less than five years. At length, after a warm contest between the monks of the cathedral and the prelates of the province, Radulphus bishop of Rochester was elected primate, 26th April, and enthroned 17th May, A. D. 1114³⁸. 1114
Radulphus:
arch-
bishop.

As all this had been transacted without so much as consulting the pope, the messengers sent to Rome by the archbishop to solicit his pall, were very coldly received, and met with many difficulties; but being powerfully supported by abbot Anselm, nephew of the late primate, and a great favourite of his holiness, they at last succeeded; and that abbot was sent into England, with the pall, and a long letter to the king and bishops. - In this letter many texts of scripture are quoted to prove, that no business of any importance ought to be transacted in any nation of Europe without the knowledge and direction of the pope; it also contains the strongest expressions of resentment against the king and prelates of England for their late neglect of the holy see, with threats of excommunication, if they did not behave in a more dutiful manner in time to come³⁹. Henry was much offended with the Infolent
letter from
the pope

³⁸ Eadmer, p. 115.

³⁹ Id. *ibid.*

Cent. XII. insolent strain of this epistle; and sent William bishop of Exeter to Rome, to expostulate with the pope on that and some other subjects.

Henry nominates a bishop of St. David's in Wales.

The people of Wales were about this time so much humbled by the superior power of Henry, that the clergy of the church of St. David's applied to that prince to nominate a fit person to be bishop of that see; and he named Bernard, chaplain to the queen. That this was a novelty, appears from this circumstance, that a very violent dispute arose between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, about the place where the bishop-elect of St. David's ought to be consecrated, in which the policy of the prince at last yielded to the pertinacity of the prelate⁴⁰.

1116.
Dispute about the primacy revived.

The dispute about the obligation of the archbishops of York to make a profession of canonical obedience to the archbishops of Canterbury at their consecration, which had so often disturbed the peace of the church of England, was revived at this time by Thurstan, elect of York, who refused to make that profession. After this dispute had subsisted almost a year, it was brought before a great council at Salisbury, 18th March A. D. 1116; and such was the pride and obstinacy of Thurstan, that when the king and council declared against him, he chose to relinquish his see rather than to submit⁴¹. It was not long, however, before he repented of this rash step; and, following the king into Normandy, earnestly

⁴⁰ Eadmer, p. 116.

⁴¹ Wilkin. Concilia, t. 1. p. 393.
solicited

solicited to be restored to the dignity he had too hastily resigned. Meeting with little encouragement from the king, Thurstan had recourse to Rome; and, employing those modes of solicitation which he knew to be most successful, he at length obtained a bull from the pope A. D. 1118, restoring him to his see; and declaring, that his holiness would hear both parties in the dispute between Canterbury and York in his own presence, and determine it according to justice⁴². But this bull did not put an end to this controversy. For the primate still refused to consecrate the elect of York, without a profession of canonical obedience; which he obstinately refused to make⁴³.

Cent.

On this Thurstan petitioned the king for leave to go into France to visit the pope, who had indicated a general council to meet at Rheims in October A. D. 1119. But Henry, suspecting his intention, obliged him to give a solemn promise on oath, that he would neither ask nor accept of consecration from the pope; and, for the greater security, he also obtained a solemn promise from the pope, that he would not grant consecration to Thurstan. But all these oaths and promises were most shamefully violated. For, as soon as the elect of York arrived at Rheims, he was consecrated by his holiness in the cathedral church of that city. The king of England was so much provoked at this base

Preval
tion o
pope.⁴² Eadmer, p. 121.⁴³ W. Malmf. p. 157.

Cent. XII.

transaſtion, that he ſolemnly ſwore he would not ſuffer Thurſtan to enter any of his dominions ⁴⁴. In an Interview that he had with the pope ſome time after, at Giſors, his holineſs importuned him to permit his friend Thurſtan to return to his ſee, and offered to abſolve him from his oath. The king, after reflecting a little on this propoſal, answered, that he could not accept of his abſolution, becauſe ſuch a trifling with oaths and promiſes would deſtroy all faith and confidence among mankind ⁴⁵.

1120.
The pope
breaks his
promiſe.

At this interview the king obtained a promiſe from the pope, that he would not ſend any legates into England or Normandy without his requiſition; which was no better obſerved than other papal promiſes ⁴⁶. For Calixtus, who made this promiſe, having defeated his rival Michael Burdinus the antipope, and taken him priſoner, ſent his legates, under the ſpecious pretence of communicating this joyful news, into all the different nations of Europe, and amongſt others into England, without the leaſt regard to his late engagement. But king Henry was not ſo inattentive to that engagement: for though he received the legate with no little ceremony, and treated him with much reſpect, he told him plainly, that he could not acknowledge him as legate, nor ſuffer him to perform any one act in conſequence of that commiſſion ⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ Eadmer, p. 125. W. Malmf. p. 137. ⁴⁵ Eadmer, p. 126.

⁴⁶ Id. p. 125.

⁴⁷ Id. p. 137.

Radulphus, archbishop of Canterbury, died 20th October A. D. 1122, in the ninth year of his patriarchate. He is said by a contemporary historian, who was well acquainted with him, to have been a man of eminent piety and learning, of a generous disposition and affable deportment, but a little too much addicted to joculariry for the dignity of his station ⁴⁸.

Cent.
112
Death
charac
of Rad
phus.

The death of the primate gave rise, as usual, to a warm contest between the monks of Canterbury and the bishops of the province, about the choice of a successor; in which the bishops, being secretly favoured by the king, at length prevailed, and William Corboyl, prior of Chiche, was elected at Gloucester on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, A. D. 1123 ⁴⁹. Being consecrated at Canterbury by the bishops of London and Winchester, assisted by the other English prelates, on the 20th of February, he made a journey to Rome for his pall; which he obtained ⁵⁰. In this journey he had also in view to obtain a decision in favour of his see, in the famous dispute with the archbishop of York, which was still depending. But in this he did not succeed. For his holiness was in no haste to determine a question which gave him so much authority over the church of England ⁵¹.

Willia
Corbo
made a
bishop

One of the most specious and successful arts employed by the court of Rome to subject the

112
A pap
legate
holds

⁴⁸ W. Malmf. p. 132.

⁴⁹ Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 7.

⁵⁰ Gervas apud X Script. col. 1662. ⁵¹ Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 71.

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a council
at West-
minster.

several churches of Europe to her dominion, was that of sending legates into all countries, with commissions to hold national councils, in the name and by the authority of the pope. Though every attempt to procure the admission of such papal legates into England had hitherto proved abortive, the policy of Rome was still upon the watch to seize the first favourable opportunity for renewing these attempts. Such an opportunity presented itself at this time, when the king of England was engaged in a dangerous war on the continent, and stood in need of the favour of the court of Rome; and it was not neglected. For pope Honorius II. granted a commission, 13th April, to John de Crema, a cardinal priest, to be his legate in England and Scotland⁵². The legate, having waited on king Henry in Normandy, at length, and with much difficulty, obtained his permission to pass over into England; where he gratified his pride and avarice without much regard to decency. Amongst other things, he presided in a national council at Westminster, 9th September A.D. 1126, in which both the archbishops, twenty bishops, forty abbots, and an innumerable multitude, both of the clergy and people, were present⁵³. In this council, which was the first in which a Roman legate had presided in England, no fewer than seventeen canons were made, or rather promulgated, in the name and by the

⁵² Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 32, 33.⁵³ Id. p. 33.

authority

Ch. 2. § 2.

authority of
there is little
celibacy of the
lowest orders
any women in
aunts, or the
picion⁵⁴. At
legate summoned
immediately
the prerogative
was depending
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solence of the
time.

In the night
an incident happened
noise, and broke
clergy. John
had declaimed
the day before
and inveighed
the horrid in
caught in bed
so undeniable
the legate dared
out of England
cipitation⁵⁵.
tion to the n

⁵⁴ Spelman Cor

⁵⁵ Hen. Hunt. 1
col. 1015. H. K
c. 48.

Cent XII.

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1127.  
Transac-  
tions of the  
two arch-  
bishops at  
Rome, and  
a council  
at West-  
minster.

been the detectors), and rendered the canon of the late council against them abortive and contemptible.

The two archbishops, in obedience to the citation of the legate, repaired to Rome; where Thurstan, being the greatest favourite, obtained a bull exempting him and his successors from all subjection to the see of Canterbury, and placing the two prelates of Canterbury, and York on an exact footing of equality<sup>56</sup>. This was not the only disaster that befell the archbishop of Canterbury when he was at Rome. For he was by some means or other prevailed upon to degrade and enslave himself and his successors, by accepting a commission to be the pope's legate in England; hoping perhaps by this commission to recover that authority over his rival Thurstan, that he had lost by the late bull. Proud of his chains, he convened a national synod immediately on his return, to meet at Westminster, 17th May, and presided in it as the pope's legate. Thurstan, unwilling to give any marks of subjection to William even in this new character, did not attend this council; and his suffragan, the bishop of Durham, also sent an excuse. The canons of this council seem to have been brought from Rome, as well as the authority by which they were promulgated. In them the marriage of the clergy is styled the plague of the church, and all dignitaries are commanded to exert their most

<sup>56</sup> Wilkin. Concil. t. i. p. 407.

zealous

zealous efforts to root it out. The wives of priests and canons were not only to be separated from them, but to be banished out of the parish; and if they ever after conversed with their husbands, they were to be seized by the ministers of the church<sup>57</sup>, and subjected to ecclesiastical discipline, or reduced to servitude, at the discretion of the bishop: and if any persons, great or small, attempted to deliver these unhappy victims out of the hands of the ministers of the church, they were to be excommunicated<sup>58</sup>. These canons afford a sufficient proof of the power and tyranny of the court of Rome, from whence they came; and also of the great difficulty of establishing celibacy among the inferior clergy of the church of England; which was far from being accomplished by these canons.

Cent. 12

For this reason the archbishop of Canterbury convened another council, which met at London, on Monday, September 29th, A. D. 1129, and continued to sit till Friday, October 3d. The sole design of this council was, to contrive some more effectual means than had yet been used, to compel the inferior clergy to put away their wives. To accomplish this end, it was decreed, that all priests who were married should put away their wives on or before the feast of St. Andrew (November 30th) next; and that those

1129  
Council  
London

<sup>57</sup> These ministers of the church were laymen, and a kind of ecclesiastical sheriffs, who executed the sentences of ecclesiastical courts, as the secular sheriffs executed those of the secular courts.

<sup>58</sup> Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 410. Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 35, 36.

who



Cent. XII.

who did not obey this decree, should be immediately turned out of their churches and houses, and declared incapable of ever holding any office or benefice in the church". To render this decree still more effectual, the council committed the execution of it to the king. But this turned out to be very ill policy, and disappointed the whole design. For the king, instead of compelling the clergy to put away their wives, thought it more for his advantage to impose a tax on those who chose to retain them; which, it is said, brought a great sum into the royal coffers<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>1130.</sup>  
Schism in  
the papacy.  
The see of  
Carlisle  
founded.

The legantine commission, which had been so imprudently accepted by the archbishop of Canterbury, expired with pope Honorius II. who had granted it, February 14th, A. D. 1130. On the very day of his death, two popes were chosen, one of which assumed the name of *Innocent II.* and the other of *Anacletus*. This schism continued about nine years, but at length terminated in favour of Innocent, who had been acknowledged by the emperor, and the kings of France and England<sup>60</sup>. Though the frequent schisms in the papacy in the middle ages were very fatal to the prosperity and pretensions of the church of Rome, they were very friendly to the rights of other churches. For while the rival popes were employed in cursing and destroying

<sup>59</sup> Wilkin. Concil. t. i. p. 411.

<sup>60</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 220.

<sup>61</sup> Du Pin Eccles. Hist. cent. 12. ch. 3.

one another, they had no leisure to disturb the peace or invade the rights of the rest of mankind. During this schism in particular, the church of England was governed by her own prelates, and enjoyed great tranquillity to the death of Henry I. December 1st, A. D. 1135. The most remarkable ecclesiastical transaction that happened in this period was the founding of the bishopric of Carlisle A. D. 1132, of which Adelwald, the king's confessor, was the first bishop<sup>62</sup>.

Cent.  
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It was no small reproach to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other English prelates, that they so shamefully violated their most solemn oaths to support the succession of the empress Maud, and so tamely submitted to the usurper Stephen<sup>63</sup>. To this they were induced by the pompous promises made by Stephen to the church at his coronation, and soon after confirmed in a royal charter<sup>64</sup>. For in those times the advancement of the good of the church, *i. e.* of its power and riches, was esteemed a sufficient excuse for the most immoral actions. Nor was pope Innocent II. (the pope acknowledged by England) more scrupulous on this occasion, than the English prelates. For he sent Stephen a bull, confirming his election to, or rather his usurpation of, the crown<sup>65</sup>.

113  
Thecl  
submit  
king S  
phea.<sup>62</sup> Godwin de Preful. Careolens.<sup>63</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 221. col. 1.<sup>64</sup> W. Malmf. p. 102. col. 1.<sup>65</sup> Id. *ibid.*

William

Cent. XII.

1137.

Death and  
character  
of arch-  
bishop  
Corboyl.

William Corboyl, archbishop of Canterbury, did not live to see many of the fatal effects of his imprudent compliance with the court of Rome in accepting the legantine commission, nor of the countenance he had given to the usurpation of king Stephen. For he died in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, December 19th, A. D. 1127<sup>66</sup>. He seems to have been a weak man, too easily prevailed upon to forget the dignity of his station and the obligation of his oaths. The archbishopric continued vacant two years and one month, contrary to the solemn promises that had been made by Stephen at his coronation, and in his charter. This prince, after the primate's death, was so mean and imprudent as to solicit the pope to grant a legantine commission to his brother Henry bishop of Winchester; which he obtained. But he was soon convinced that he had no reason to rejoice in this success.

1138.

The papal  
legate  
holds a  
council at  
Westmin-  
ster.  
Theobald  
chosen  
primate.

The schism in the papacy being healed by the death of Anacletus, and the resignation of Victor his successor, A. D. 1138, Innocent II. began to meddle more directly, and in a more magisterial manner, in the affairs of the church of England. For though he had granted the legantine commission to Henry bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, he now suspended that commission, and sent a creature of his own, Albericus bishop of Ostia, as his legate, into England.

<sup>66</sup> Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 7.

This

This bold step was equally disagreeable to the king and his brother. But they had proceeded too far in their submissions to the see of Rome, to stop short; and therefore, after a little hesitation, Albericus was permitted to execute his commission<sup>67</sup>. In consequence of this, he presided in a national synod, which he had summoned to meet, December 13th, A. D. 1138, at Westminster. In this synod sixteen canons were promulgated by the sole authority of the holy see, without so much as mentioning the consent of the council, though there were seventeen bishops, thirty abbots, and a great multitude of the inferior clergy present<sup>68</sup>. At the conclusion of this council, the legate proceeded to a still more daring invasion of the rights of the crown and church of England, by taking the lead in the choice of an archbishop of Canterbury; and by his influence Theobald, abbot of Becc in Normandy, was chosen on the Sunday before Christmas, and consecrated at Canterbury, by the legate, January 19th, A. D. 1139<sup>69</sup>. This was a cruel disappointment to the king's brother, Henry bishop of Winchester, who had set his heart upon the primacy; and suspecting, not without reason, that the king had secretly contributed to his disappointment, he began to form schemes of revenge against his own brother, which he soon discovered.

<sup>67</sup> Chron. Gervas apud X Script. col. 1344.

<sup>68</sup> Id. col. 1347, &c.

<sup>69</sup> Id. ibid.

Cent. XII.

1139.  
Quarrel  
between  
king Ste-  
phen and  
his brother  
the bishop  
of Win-  
chester.

Albericus the pope's legate, with Theobald the new archbishop, departing for Rome about the end of January this year, the bishop of Winchester resumed the exercise of his legantine commission, and governed the church of England with a high hand. This haughty, ambitious, and vindictive prelate, meditated revenge against all who had contributed to his missing the primacy, and particularly against the king, which he executed on the following occasion. An invasion of England by the empress Maud, and her natural brother Robert earl of Gloucester, being daily expected, Stephen thought it necessary to secure such of the nobility and clergy as he suspected of an intention to abandon him and join his rival. Roger bishop of Salisbury had been justiciary and prime minister of Henry I. who had loaded him, and his two nephews, Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Nigellus bishop of Ely, with riches and honours. These prelates had built several strong and magnificent castles, which excited the envy of the nobility as well as the jealousy of the king; who seized the persons of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, at Oxford, June 26th, and obliged them, with the bishop of Ely, who was taken at the Devizes, to surrender all their castles. This transaction made a prodigious noise. The king's conduct was commended by some, and blamed by others; but by none so much as his own brother the bishop of Winchester. That artful prelate thinking this a favourable opportunity of displaying

his

his own power, and zeal for the immunities of the church, as well as of gratifying his resentment, did not suffer it to escape. He repaired to court; commanded rather than petitioned the king to restore their castles to the three bishops; and meeting with a denial, as he expected, he called a national council to meet at Winchester, August 28th, and summoned the king to appear before it to answer for his conduct. This daring insult on the royal dignity would have been properly resented by Stephen at another time; but, in his present circumstances, he was obliged to temporise. He first sent certain earls to the council, to demand why he had been summoned; who received this haughty answer from the legate: "That as the king pretended to be a Christian, he ought not to be surprised that he was commanded by the ministers of Christ to give them satisfaction; especially as he was conscious of the horrid crime of imprisoning bishops, and stripping them of their possessions; a crime which had never been heard of before in any Christian age." The legate added, That if the king was not a fool, he would come immediately, and submit to the judgment of the clergy, to whom he owed his crown. Though Stephen was greatly irritated at the report of his commissioners, he suppressed his resentment, and sent them back to the council, with

<sup>70</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 103.

Cent. XII.

Alberic de Vere, the most eloquent pleader of that age, to defend his cause; which was agitated three days successively, with incredible warmth on both sides; and the council broke up at last in confusion, without having come to any decision<sup>71</sup>.

1141.  
Disputes  
about the  
election of  
an arch-  
bishop of  
York.

The civil war between king Stephen and the empress Maud broke out immediately after the conclusion of the above council; and during its continuance there were but few ecclesiastical transactions of importance. Thurstan archbishop of York having died, February 5th, A. D. 1141, the canons of that cathedral proceeded immediately to the choice of a successor, without so much as consulting either of the two rivals who were then contending for the crown of England. But these canons were unhappily divided in their sentiments on this occasion; and while one part of them declared for William, treasurer of the church of York, and nephew to king Stephen, being the son of his sister Emma, the other made choice of Henry Murdak, abbot of Fountains, in Yorkshire. This dispute, instead of being carried to the court of England, was immediately carried to the court of Rome, where it continued depending no less than five years, at an immense expence and trouble; and was at last determined in favour of the abbot, by the

<sup>71</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 103.

influence

influence of his friend St. Bernard<sup>72</sup>. So much had the influence of the crown lost, and that of the papacy gained, by the civil wars, which then raged with uncommon fury. Cent. X

An event which happened in these wars, on February 2d, A. D. 1141, gave the legate, Henry bishop of Winchester, an opportunity of gratifying his resentment against his brother king Stephen, in its utmost extent. That prince having then been taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, the legate openly joined the party of his rival, and by his legantine authority summoned a council to meet at Winchester, the week after Easter, in order to bring over all the rest of the clergy to embrace the same party. The legate spent the first day of the council in private consultations with the several different orders of the clergy separately, in order to discover their inclinations. On the second day he made a long harangue to the council, in which he loaded his unhappy brother with reproaches, and greatly magnified all the misfortunes and errors of his government. After which he concluded in this manner: "That the kingdom might not be  
 "ruined for want of a head, I, by virtue of my  
 "legantine authority, have summoned you all  
 "to this council. Yesterday this great question,  
 "Which of the two claimants hath the best right  
 "to the crown? was canvassed privately by the  
 "clergy of England, to whom it chiefly belongs

The cler  
in the  
council  
Winche  
ter declar  
for the  
empire's

<sup>72</sup> H. Stubs apud X Script. col. 1721.



Cert. XII.

“ to elect and ordain kings. And now, having  
 “ invoked the divine direction, we elect and  
 “ chuse the daughter of the late pacific, glorious,  
 “ rich, good, and incomparable king Henry,  
 “ to be the mistress of England and Normandy,  
 “ and we promise her our obedience and  
 “ fealty<sup>73</sup>.” All who were present gave their  
 assent to this, either by gentle acclamations or  
 by silence. On the third day the deputies of the  
 city of London were introduced to the council,  
 and petitioned the legate, the archbishop, and  
 all the clergy, to procure the liberty of their  
 king. To convince them that this could not be  
 granted, the legate repeated the oration he had  
 made the day before; and then added, “ That  
 “ it very ill became the citizens of London, who  
 “ were regarded as a kind of nobles in England,  
 “ to favour that party of the nobility, who had  
 “ abandoned their prince in battle, who had  
 “ persuaded him to dishonour holy church, and  
 “ who seemed to court the Londoners with no  
 “ other view than to squeeze money from  
 “ them<sup>74</sup>.” The council broke up on the fourth  
 day, after excommunicating some of the most  
 active barons of the king’s party.

1142.  
 In the  
 council of  
 Westmin-  
 ster they  
 declare  
 for king  
 Stephen.

The war between the parties of the empress  
 and king Stephen having taken a different turn  
 in the course of this year, and that prince having  
 obtained his liberty, in exchange for the earl of  
 Gloucester, the legate changed his party once

<sup>73</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. t. 2. p. 106.

<sup>74</sup> Id. ibid.

more,

more, and openly declared for the king, and against the empress. In consequence of this change he called a national council, which met at Westminster in the beginning of December. The king being introduced into the council, made bitter complaints of the rebellion of his subjects, and of the injuries that he and his friends had sustained. The legate exerted all his eloquence to excuse his former conduct, declaring, that every thing he had done in favour of the counts of Anjou (the name he now gave the empress) had been the effect of constraint and force. Though few believed him, none ventured to contradict him but one layman, who stood up, and boldly affirmed, that the empress had come into England in consequence of his frequent and earnest solicitations, and had done nothing but by his direction and advice. The legate, without losing his temper, or making any answer, proceeded, with a grave face, to excommunicate all the disturbers of the public peace, and favourers of the counts of Anjou<sup>75</sup>.

The legate held a council at London about the middle of Lent this year, in order to provide some security to the persons and possessions of the clergy, from that violence to which they were exposed in the civil wars. With this view the following canon was made: "That none who  
" violated a church or church-yard, or laid  
" violent hands on a clerk, should be absolved

<sup>75</sup> W. Malmf. Hist. Novel. l. 2. p. 108, 109.

Cent. XII.

“ from excommunication by any but the pope.”  
By this canon (says a contemporary historian) the rapacity of the kites was a little restrained <sup>76</sup>.

1145.  
Scheme  
for making  
Winches-  
ter an  
archb-  
ishopric.

The legate, elated by his legantine authority, and his great interest at the court of Rome, is said to have formed a scheme of getting Winchester erected into an archbishopric by the pope. This scheme, if we may believe an ancient historian, was carried so far, that pope Lucius sent the legate a pall, and intended to have assigned him seven bishops for his suffragans <sup>77</sup>. However this may be, this design was disappointed either by the death of the pope, the confusions of the times, or some other cause.

1148.  
Council of  
Rheims.

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury had been greatly mortified by that superiority of rank and power which his suffragan the bishop of Winchester possessed, by his legantine commission, and his near relation to the king. Many disputes arose between these two prelates, which were carried to the court of Rome, and prosecuted with great eagerness <sup>78</sup>. Pope Eugenius III, proposed to hold a council at Rheims in Lent, A. D. 1148, to which he summoned the archbishop of Canterbury and several English bishops. The legate persuaded his brother king Stephen to prohibit the primate from attending that council; hoping, that if the archbishop slighted that prohibition, he would offend the

<sup>76</sup> R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 283. col. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 300. Diceto apud X script. col. 503.

<sup>78</sup> Cervas apud X Script. col. 1665.

king;

## RELIGION.

he obeyed it, he would incur the Cer  
 he pope. In this dilemma, Theo-  
 ther to disobey his secular than  
 ign, made his escape out of  
 honourably received by the  
 If ever Theobald received a  
 some authors affirm, of being  
 us, as it was called, it was probably at  
 ame<sup>79</sup>. On his return to England, he was  
 ill received by Stephen, that he thought proper  
 to retire again to France, till a kind of recon-  
 ciliation was patched up, that was never cordial  
 on either side<sup>80</sup>.

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury being now  
 restored to his see, and also invested with the  
 legantine authority, held a general council of the  
 English clergy, at London, about the middle of  
 Lent, A. D. 1151. We hear of no canons that  
 were made in this council; and though king  
 Stephen, his eldest son prince Eustace, and the  
 chief nobility of England, were present, its peace  
 was much disturbed, and its authority diminished,  
 by appeals to Rome from its decrees, of which  
 no fewer than three were taken<sup>81</sup>. This practice  
 of appealing to Rome from an English council,  
 had only been introduced a few years before, by  
 the late legate; Henry bishop of Winchester;  
 and so great progress had it already made, that

<sup>79</sup> Antiquit. Britan. p. 127.

<sup>80</sup> Gervas apud X Script. col. 1566. <sup>81</sup> Hen. Hunt. l. 3. p. 227.

Cent. XII. all ecclesiastical causes of importance were finally determined in the court of Rome.

1154.  
Death of  
king Ste-  
phen.

England, in the three last years of king Stephen's reign, was a scene of so great confusion, that no ecclesiastical councils were held; and the disputes which then began to arise between several rich abbeys, and the bishops of those dioceses in which they lay, about their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, will fall more properly to be related in the next section. Death put an end to the unfortunate life and unhappy reign of this prince, October 25th, A. D. 1154.

Encroach-  
ments of  
the papacy  
on the  
crown and  
church.

In the period we have been now delineating, the papacy made great encroachments, both on the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the church of England. On the prerogatives of the crown, by depriving the king of the right of granting investiture to his prelates, and diminishing his influence in their election; on the privileges of the church and clergy, by establishing the legantine authority,—by enforcing celibacy on the inferior clergy,—and by drawing all ecclesiastical causes of importance to Rome, by appeals.

Ecclesiastical  
history of  
Scotland.

Turgot bi-  
shop of St.  
Andrews.

AUTHENTIC materials for a church-history of Scotland are still very scanty in this period, and are chiefly to be found in the English historians. After the see of St. Andrew's had continued a considerable time vacant, Turgot prior of Durham was recommended to Alexander I. king of Scotland

Ch. 2. § 2.

Scotland by I  
vacancy, A. I  
arisen between  
archbishop of  
the church of  
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crate the elect  
a profession o  
rights of all p  
some future oc  
consecrated at  
from whence  
verned that ch  
and in peac  
breaking out  
tained leave to  
land; where  
A. D. 1115<sup>82</sup>.

One Willia  
seems to hav  
St. Andrew's  
prived before  
was a vacan  
length king  
archbishop of  
him to send E

<sup>82</sup> Sim. Dunelm.

<sup>83</sup> Chron. Melro

<sup>85</sup> Eadmer, p. 13

Cent. XII.

cathedral, of whom he had heard a high character, into Scotland, to be raised to the primacy of his kingdom. With this desire the archbishop, having also obtained the consent of king Henry, joyfully complied; and Eadmerus was dispatched with a very strong letter of recommendation. He was kindly received by the king; and, on the third day after his arrival, he was elected bishop of St. Andrew's, with much unanimity. But on the very day after his election, an unhappy dispute arose between the king and him, in a private conference about his consecration. Eadmerus having been a constant companion of the late and of the present archbishops of Canterbury, was a violent stickler for the prerogatives of that see. He therefore told the king, that he was determined to be consecrated by none but the archbishop of Canterbury, who he believed to be the primate of all Britain. Alexander, who was a fierce prince, and supported the independency of his crown and kingdom with great spirit, was so much offended, that he broke off the conference in a violent passion, declaring that the see of Canterbury had no pre-eminency over that of St. Andrew's<sup>86</sup>. This breach between the king and the bishop-elect became daily wider, till at length Eadmerus, despairing of recovering the royal favour, sent his pastoral ring to the king, and laid his pastoral staff on the high altar, from

<sup>86</sup> Eadmer, p. 132.

whence

whence he had taken it, and, abandoning his bishopric, returned to England. He was kindly received by the archbishop and clergy of Canterbury, though they disapproved of his stiffness, and thought him too hasty in forsaking the honourable station to which he had been called. Nor was it long before Eadmerus became sensible of his error, and desirous of correcting it. With this view he wrote a long submissive letter to the king of Scotland, intreating his leave to return to his bishopric, promising compliance with his royal pleasure in every thing respecting his consecration, which was accompanied by an epistle to the same purpose from the archbishop<sup>87</sup>. But these letters, which were written A. D. 1122, did not produce the desired effect.

King Alexander I. had succeeded so ill in his applications to England, that he determined to raise one of his own subjects to the primacy of his kingdom; and Robert, prior of Scone, was elected bishop of St. Andrew's in January A. D. 1124<sup>88</sup>. But the same difficulties occurring about his consecration, it did not take place till long after the death of king Aloxander, which happened April 26th this year. This prince was a considerable benefactor to the church, founded the abbeys of Scone and St. Columbe, was at much expence in collecting relics and clerical ornaments; and though naturally haughty in his

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the  
An

<sup>87</sup> Eadmer, p. 139, 140.

<sup>88</sup> Sim. Dunelm. apud X Script. col. 251.

deport-



Cent. XII. dehortment, behaved with much condescension to the clergy<sup>89</sup>.

A. D. 1126.  
St. David  
a great be-  
nefactor  
to the  
church.

The reign of St. David, who succeeded his brother Alexander, was the golden age of the church and churchmen in Scotland. The famous John de Crema arrived in Scotland, A. D. 1126, as legate from the pope, and held a council at Rokesborough, in which the king was present. But the decrees of this, as well as of many other Scotch councils, are lost, though it is probable they were much the same with those of the council which was celebrated soon after at London, and chiefly intended to enforce the celibacy of the clergy<sup>90</sup>. In the course of his reign, king David erected the four bishoprics of Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane; founded and endowed the abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbottle, Holyroodhouse, Kinloss, Cambuskenneth, Dundrennan, and Holmcuttram in Cumberland; besides several religious houses in Newcastle, Carlisle, Berwick, and other places<sup>91</sup>. The performance of all this in twenty-nine years, by the sovereign of so small a state as Scotland, was certainly too great an exertion, and must have greatly diminished the lands and revenues of the crown. This pious prince died at Carlisle, May 25th, A. D.

<sup>89</sup> Ethelred, apud X Script. col. 368.

<sup>90</sup> Simeon Dunelm. col. 252, 253.

<sup>91</sup> Chron. de Mailros, p. 165, 166, 167. Simeon Dunelm. col. 281. Ailred apud X Script. col. 348.

1154, exactly five months before the death of king Stephen<sup>92</sup>. C

## SECTION III.

*The ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, from  
A.D. 1154, to A.D. 1189.*

THOUGH the court of Rome had made  
great encroachments both on the inde-  
pendency of the church, and the prerogatives of  
the crown, of England, in the preceding period,  
that court was far from being satisfied with its  
acquisitions, but continued to prosecute its am-  
bitious schemes with unwearied ardour and con-  
summate policy. This occasioned such violent  
collisions between the crown and mitre, in the  
reign of Henry II. as very much disturbed the  
government, and even shook the throne, of that  
great prince.

One of the first ecclesiastical affairs that gave  
Henry II. any trouble, was the claim which  
some of the richest abbeys began about this  
time to advance, to an exemption from the ju-  
risdiction of their bishops. A dispute on this  
subject between Walter abbot of Battle abbey,  
and his diocesan Hilary bishop of Chichester,  
was agitated in several councils in this and the  
two succeeding years; and at length was deter-

<sup>92</sup> Simeon Dunelm. col. 281.

mined

**Cent. XII.** mined in favour of the abbot, who pleaded a charter of exemption granted to his abbey by its founder William the Conqueror<sup>1</sup>. The success of this abbot encouraged the hopes and inflamed the ambition of his brethren, some of whom did not scruple to forge charters of exemption. But these forgeries were so ill executed, that they were generally detected<sup>2</sup>. This engaged others to apply to Rome for bulls, subjecting themselves immediately to the pope, and exempting them from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries. Robert, abbot of St. Albans, was the first who obtained such a bull from pope Adrian IV. an Englishman, who had spent some years of his youth in the abbey of St. Albans<sup>3</sup>. Abbot Robert did not owe his success entirely to this circumstance: for his historian acquaints us, that he presented his holiness with three mitres and a pair of sandals of exquisite workmanship, and divided two hundred marks among the blood-suckers of the court. This abbot soon after obtained, by the same means, two other bulls; the one granting him and his successors permission to wear the episcopal ornaments, and the other appointing the parochial processions and offerings of Hertfordshire, at Whitsuntide, to be made to the church of St. Albans, and not to the cathedral of Lincoln<sup>4</sup>. These bulls, which di-

<sup>1</sup> Spelman-Concil t. 2. p. 53—58.

<sup>2</sup> Petr. Blefenf. Epist. 68. p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> M. Paris, Vjt. Abbat. p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Id. p. 47.

minished

minished both the power and revenues of the bishop of Lincoln, gave rise to violent disputes with that prelate; which, by the mere force of bribery, terminated in favour of the abbey<sup>5</sup>. Many other abbots, in different parts of England, made similar applications to the court of Rome; and, by employing the same means, obtained the same exemptions, and became mitred abbots. This innovation very much disturbed the ancient order of church-government, by diminishing the episcopal and encreasing the papal power. But none felt the fatal effects of these exemptions so sensibly as those who had obtained them. For the exempted abbots were so much harassed by expensive journeys to Rome, and by the various exactions of that insatiable court, that they had great reason to lament the success of their ambition.

Henry II. in the second year of his reign, inadvertently contributed to exalt the power and pretensions of the pope (under which he and his successors so severely smarted), by accepting a grant of the kingdom of Ireland from Adrian IV. For the soliciting or even accepting of this grant, was a plain acknowledgment, that the pope had a right to deprive the Irish princes of their dominions, and to bestow them upon another: and in the body of the grant his holiness takes care to mention this acknowledgment. “For it is undeniable (says he), and your majesty ac-

<sup>5</sup> M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 48—53.

Cent. XII.

“ knowledges it, that all islands on which Christ, “ the sun of righteousness, hath shined, and “ which have received the Christian faith, be- “ long of right to St. Peter, and the most holy “ Roman church.” A dangerous proposition, to which a king of England ought never to have given any countenance. But the wisest princes are sometimes so blinded by their ambition, as not to see the most obvious consequences of their conduct.

1159.

Some per-  
sons con-  
demned  
and pu-  
nished for  
heresy.

A company of about thirty men and women, who spoke the German language, appeared in England at this time, and soon attracted the attention of government by the singularity of their religious practices and opinions. It is indeed very difficult to discover with certainty what their opinions were, because they are recorded only by our monkish historians, who speak of them with much asperity. They were apprehended, and brought before a council of the clergy at Oxford. Being interrogated about their religion, their teacher, named *Gerard*, a man of learning, answered, in their name, that they were Christians, and believed the doctrines of the apostles. Upon a more particular enquiry it was found, that they denied several of the received doctrines of the church, as purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints; and, refusing to abandon those damnable heresies, as they were called, they were con-

<sup>6</sup> M. Paris, Hist. p. 67.

demned as incorrigible heretics, and delivered <sup>Cent</sup> to the secular arm to be punished. The king, at the instigation of the clergy, commanded them to be branded with a red-hot iron on the forehead, to be whipt through the streets of Oxford, and having their clothes cut short by their girdles, to be turned out into the open fields, all persons being forbidden to afford them any shelter or relief under the severest penalties. This cruel sentence was executed in its utmost rigour; and it being the depth of winter, all these unhappy persons perished with cold and hunger<sup>7</sup>. These seem to have been the first who suffered death in Britain, for the vague and variable crime of heresy; and it would have been much to the honour of our country if they had been the last.

On the death of Adrian IV. September 1st, A. D. 1159, there happened another schism in the papacy; Octavian, who assumed the name of *Victor III.* being chosen by one part of the cardinals; and Roland, who took the name of *Alexander III.* by another. The first of these was received as pope by the emperor Frederic; while the kings of France and England, after some deliberation, acknowledged the latter<sup>8</sup>. This schism continued about fifteen years, and was the occasion of much confusion in the church.

1166  
Schism  
the pa-  
pacy.

<sup>7</sup> W. Neubrig. l. 2. c. 13. Item, p. 631. J. Bromp. col. 1050.

<sup>8</sup> Du Pin, cent. 12., p. 116.

Cent. XII.

1161.

Arch-  
bishop The-  
obald dies,  
and is suc-  
ceeded by  
Thomas  
Becket.

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury died, April 18th, A.D. 1161, in the twenty-second year of his pontificate; and, after a vacancy of more than a year, was succeeded by one who makes a most conspicuous figure in the ecclesiastical annals of England. This was the famous Thomas Becket, who was the occasion of much political contention during his life, and the object of much superstitious veneration after his death. He was born in London, A.D. 1119; and studied in the universities of Oxford, Paris, and Bononia, the most celebrated seats of learning in those times<sup>9</sup>. Having got into the family and favour of archbishop Theobald, he was made archdeacon of Canterbury and provost of Beverly; and, by the earnest recommendation of that prelate to Henry II. he was appointed chancellor of England, A.D. 1158<sup>10</sup>. In this station he paid his court so successfully to his royal master, not only by his dexterity in business, but also by his splendid manner of living, and agreeable conversation, that he became his greatest favourite, and his chief companion in his amusements. The king was in Normandy when he heard of Theobald's death, and immediately resolved to raise his chancellor to the primacy, in hopes of governing the church of England by his means in perfect tranquillity.

<sup>9</sup> J. Brompt. apud X Script. col. 1052. Gervas, ibid. col. 1664.

<sup>10</sup> J. Brompt. col. 1057, 1058.

The empress Maude, the king's mother, endeavoured to dissuade her son from this design, and the clergy and bishops of England opposed the promotion of Becket, which retarded it above a year<sup>11</sup>. But such was Henry's fondness for his favourite, that he was deaf to all advice, and overcame all opposition, and the chancellor was elected archbishop at Westminster, June 3d, and was consecrated at Canterbury, June 6th, A. D. 1162<sup>12</sup>. Ce

As soon as Becket found himself firmly seated in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury, he suddenly changed his whole deportment and manner of life, and from the gayest and most luxurious courtier, became the most austere and solemn monk<sup>13</sup>. One of his first actions after his promotion, equally irritated and surprised the king. This was his resignation of the chancellor's office, without having consulted the inclination of his beneficent master, by whom he had been loaded with wealth and honours<sup>14</sup>. Before Henry returned to England, in January A. D. 1163, he had received so many complaints of the severities of the new primate, that he became sensible, when it was too late, that he had made a wrong choice. When Becket therefore waited upon him at Southampton, it was observed by the whole court, that though he was treated with respect, he was not received with the Be  
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the

<sup>11</sup> Epist. Divi. Thomæ, l. 1. Epist. 126. p. 190.

<sup>12</sup> Gervas, col. 1669.

<sup>13</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Quadrilog. l. 1. c. 22.



Cent. XII.

fame marks of friendship as on former occasions<sup>15</sup>. The king at the same time gave a still plainer proof of his dissatisfaction with the primate, by obliging him to resign the archdeaconry of Canterbury, which he did with great reluctance<sup>16</sup>.

1163.  
Breach between the  
king and  
Becket.

Alexander III. the pope acknowledged by the kings of France and England, held a general council of the prelates of his party at Tours, in April A. D. 1163<sup>17</sup>. The archbishop of Canterbury was present at this council; and was treated with every possible mark of respect and honour by the pope and cardinals, who were not ignorant that vanity and the love of admiration were his predominant passions<sup>18</sup>. It is highly probable, that at this interview Becket was animated by the pope in his design of becoming the champion for the liberties of the church and the immunities of the clergy. This much at least is certain, that, soon after his return, [he began to prosecute this design with less reserve than formerly, which produced an open breach between him and his sovereign<sup>19</sup>.

Opposite  
views of  
the king  
and Becket.

Nothing could be more opposite than the sentiments and views of the king and primate, concerning the immunities and independency which began to be claimed by the clergy about this time. The former was determined to be the

<sup>15</sup> Diceto apud X Script. col. 534.

<sup>16</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Du Pin, cent. 12. p. 213.

<sup>18</sup> Vita S. T. Becket, c. 14. p. 28.

<sup>19</sup> Inett's Church Hist. b. 2. c. 12. p. 238.

sovereign

sovereign of all his subjects, clergy as well as laity; to oblige them to obey his laws, or to answer for their disobedience in his courts of justice: the latter maintained, that the clergy were subject only to the laws of the church, were to be judged only in spiritual courts, and to be punished only by ecclesiastical censures<sup>20</sup>.

The dissolute lives of the clergy at this time, and the atrocious crimes committed by some of them, made it necessary to bring this question to a speedy issue<sup>21</sup>. In order to this, the king called a council of the clergy and nobility at Westminster; which he opened with an excellent speech, in which he complained of the mischiefs occasioned by the thefts, robberies, and murders, committed by the clergy with impunity; and concluded with requiring, that the archbishop and the other bishops would consent, that when a clerk was degraded for any crime, he should be immediately delivered to the king's officers, that he might be punished for the same crime, according to the laws of the land<sup>22</sup>. The primate, dreading the compliance of the other bishops with so reasonable a demand, earnestly intreated that they might be allowed to hold a private conference amongst themselves before they returned an answer; which was granted. In this conference, the other bishops acknow-

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<sup>20</sup> Gervas apud X Script. col. 167d. Vita S. Thomæ, p. 33. R. Hoveden, pars posterior, p. 282. col. 2.

<sup>21</sup> W. Neubrigenf. l. 2. c. 16. p. 158.

<sup>22</sup> Stephanides, Vita S. Thomæ, p. 29.

Cent. XII.

ledged, that the king's demand appeared to them to be agreeable to reason, law, and scripture. But the primate insisted with so much warmth and obstinacy on the immunities granted to the clergy by the canons of the church, that he silenced all his brethren, and persuaded them to return this answer to the king,—That they could not comply with his demand. On this the council broke up in confusion<sup>23</sup>.

1164.  
Becket  
promises  
to obey  
the consti-  
tutions of  
Claren-  
don.

Though Henry had not been successful in his first attempt to persuade the clergy to relinquish the pernicious immunities to which they laid claim, he determined to carry his point, if possible, and had frequent conferences with the primate and other prelates, in which he employed every art to prevail upon them to comply with his desire. At length, by the earnest intreaties of his friends, Becket began to yield a little; and waiting upon the king at Oxford, he consented to promise obedience to the laws of the land, without annexing to this promise, as he had always done before, a saving of the privileges of his order<sup>24</sup>. The king, highly pleased with this success, and resolving to have this consent of the prelates, to obey the laws of the land without reserve, ratified in the most solemn manner, called a parliament or great council of the clergy and barons to meet at Clarendon, on the festival of St. Hilary, A.D. 1164<sup>25</sup>. But be-

<sup>23</sup> Stephanides, Vita S. Thomæ, p. 31.

<sup>24</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, c. 20. p. 37.

<sup>25</sup> Gervas apud X Script. col. 1385.

fore the meeting of this assembly, Becket had again changed his mind, and when he appeared before the council, he obstinately refused to promise obedience to the laws in the terms to which he had agreed at Oxford. At this the king was equally disappointed and enraged, the most violent debates between the bishops and the barons ensued, which continued three days, in which time every possible mean was used to overcome the obstinacy of the primate, and even threats of immediate violence were not spared. At last, by the tears and intreaties of two knights-templars, Richard of Hastings and Hosteus of Bologna, for whom he had a great esteem, he was again softened, and appearing before the council, he, with all the other bishops, solemnly promised and swore, in the words of truth, and without any reserve, to obey all the royal laws and customs which had been established in England in the reign of his majesty's grandfather Henry I<sup>26</sup>. These laws and customs, commonly called *the Constitutions of Clarendon*, were put in writing, read in the council, and one copy of them delivered to the primate, another to the archbishop of York, and a third deposited among the records of the kingdom<sup>27</sup>. These famous constitutions, which were sixteen in number, reduced ecclesiastics of all denominations to a due subjection to the laws of their

<sup>26</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. i. c. 21. p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> Gervas apud X Script. col. 1386. 1388.

country,

Cent. XII.

country, limited the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, guarded against appeals to Rome, and the pronouncing of interdicts and excommunications, without the consent of the king or his justiciary<sup>28</sup>. In a word, they were in all respects wise and just; but at the same time so evidently calculated to put a stop to the encroachments of the court of Rome, and to set bounds to the extravagant immunities of the clergy, that they were equally odious to both; who never speak of them but in the harshest terms<sup>29</sup>. Henry made some attempts to prevail upon the pope, who was under great obligations to him, to give his sanction to the constitutions of Clarendon; but in vain<sup>30</sup>.

Becket attempts to leave England, but is put back.

As it was with visible reluctance that Becket had sworn to obey those hated constitutions; so he soon began to give indications of his repentance, by extraordinary acts of mortification, and by refraining from performing the sacred offices of his function<sup>31</sup>. He also dispatched a special messenger, with an account of what had happened, to the pope; who sent him a bull, releasing him from the obligation of his oath, and enjoining him to resume the duties of his sacred office<sup>32</sup>. But though this bull reconciled his conscience to the violation of his oath, it did

<sup>28</sup> Gervas apud X Script. col. 1386. 1388. M. Paris, p. 71. Spelman. Con. t. 2. p. 63; 64.

<sup>29</sup> M. Paris, p. 71.

<sup>30</sup> Epistolæ Tho. Cantuar. l. 1. Ep. 4. p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, c. 22. p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> M. Paris, p. 71, 72.

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<sup>33</sup> M. Paris, p. 71, 1  
apud X Script. col. 531

<sup>34</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, 1

Cent. XII.

17th, A. D. 1164<sup>35</sup>. This parliament was uncommonly full, as the whole nation was deeply interested in the issue of this contest between the crown and the mitre<sup>36</sup>. On the first day, the king in person accused the archbishop of contumacy, in refusing to attend his court when he was summoned: against which accusation having made only a very weak defence, he was unanimously found guilty, by the bishops, as well as by the temporal barons, and all his goods and chattels were declared to be forfeited<sup>37</sup>. To this sentence Becket, with much reluctance, submitted; and the king agreeing to accept of five hundred pounds for the forfeiture, the bishops became sureties for their primate. On the second day of the parliament, the king made a demand of five hundred pounds which he had lent to Becket when he was chancellor; who alleged, in his own defence, that this sum had been given to him, and not lent. But not being able to produce any evidence of this grant, he was adjudged to repay the money. To this sentence he also submitted; and prevailed upon five of his vassals to become his sureties, the bishops declining to be any further bound<sup>38</sup>. But, on the third day, being Saturday, a much heavier demand was made on the archbishop by the king,

<sup>35</sup> M. Paris, p. 72.

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix to Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II. vol. 4. octavo, p. 428.

<sup>37</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 25. p. 47.      <sup>38</sup> Id. ibid. c. 26. p. 48.

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who gave in a charge of no less a sum than two hundred and fifty thousand marks, which he affirmed that prelate had received from vacant benefices while he was chancellor, and required the parliament to oblige him to account for that sum. Becket, astonished at this demand, begged leave to consult with his brethren the bishops apart, before he returned an answer; which was granted. When these prelates had retired into a separate room, and their primate had demanded their advice, they differed very widely in their opinions; some (who were in the interest of the court) advising him to resign his see, as the only means of appeasing the king's wrath and preserving himself from ruin; while others opposed this as a dangerous precedent, and too great an act of submission to the civil power. When they could not come to any unanimous resolution, Becket sent messengers to the king and barons, to crave a short delay; which was granted till Monday<sup>39</sup>. The proceedings of this day struck terror into so many of Becket's retainers, that when he returned to his lodgings, he was attended by very few. On Monday he was seized with a violent colic, which put it out of his power to appear in parliament; but he sent a solemn promise that he would appear on the next day, though he should be carried in his bed. Early on Tuesday morning many of the bishops waited upon him in his chamber, and earnestly intreated

<sup>39</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 27. p. 48, 49, 50.



Cent. XII. him to resign his office; assuring him, that if he did not, he would be tried for perjury and high treason. But he reproached them bitterly for deserting him in this contest; charged them not to presume to sit in judgment upon their primate; and assured them, that though he should be burnt alive, he would not abandon his station, nor forsake his flock. Having celebrated mass, he set out from his house, dressed in his pontifical robes, with a consecrated host in one hand; and when he approached the hall where the king and parliament sat, he took the cross from the bearer, and carried it in the other hand<sup>40</sup>. When the king was informed of the posture in which the primate was advancing, he retired hastily into an inner room, commanding all the bishops and barons to follow him. Here he complained in very severe terms of the intolerable audacity of Becket; and was answered by the barons, "That he had always been a vain and obstinate man, and ought never to have been raised to so high a station: that he had been guilty of high treason, both against the king and kingdom; and they demanded that he should be immediately punished as a traitor<sup>41</sup>." The clamours of the barons against Becket became so loud and vehement, that Roger archbishop of York, apprehending that they would proceed to acts of violence, retired hastily, that he might not be a witness of the bloody scene. The

<sup>40</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 30.

<sup>41</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 31.

bishop of Exeter went into the great hall, where the primate sat almost alone, and, falling at his feet, conjured him to take pity on himself and on his brethren, and preserve them all from destruction, by complying with the king's will. But, with a stern countenance, he commanded him to be gone. The bishops, apprehensive of incurring the indignation of the pope, if they proceeded to sit in judgment on their primate, and of the king and barons if they refused, begged that they might be allowed to hold a private consultation; which was granted. After deliberating some time, they agreed to renounce all subjection to Becket as their primate; to prosecute him for perjury before the pope; and, if possible, to procure his deposition. This resolution they reported to the king and barons; who, not knowing that Becket had already obtained a bull from the pope, absolving him from his oath, too rashly gave their consent; and the bishops went into the hall in a body, and intimated their resolution to the archbishop; who, not deigning to give them any answer, except, "I hear," a profound silence ensued<sup>42</sup>. In the mean time, the king and barons came to a resolution, that if the archbishop did not immediately give in his accounts, they would declare him guilty of perjury and treason; and sent out certain barons to communicate this resolution, Robert earl of Leicester, who was at the head of

<sup>42</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. i. c. 32. p. 55, 56.

these

Cent. XII. these barons, addressing himself to Becket, said, "The king commands you to come immediately, and give in your accounts; or else hear your sentence." "My sentence!" cried he, starting to his feet, "No! my son, hear me first. I was given to the church free, and discharged from all claims, when I was elected archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore I never will give any account. Besides, my son, neither law nor reason permits sons to judge their father. I decline the jurisdiction of the king and barons, and appeal to God, and my lord the pope, by whom alone I am to be judged. For you, my brethren and fellow-bishops, I summon you to appear before the pope, to be judged by him for having obeyed men rather than God. I put myself, the church of Canterbury, and all that belongs to it, under the protection of God, and the pope, under whose protection I depart hence." On this he walked out of the hall in great state, leaving the whole assembly so much disconcerted by his boldness, that none had the courage to stop him<sup>43</sup>. Some indeed pursued him with opprobrious language, which he returned. When he reached the street, he was received by a prodigious mob, who conducted him to his lodgings with loud acclamations. A circumstance which flattered his vanity, and increased his obstinacy.

<sup>43</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. i. c. 33. p. 57.

In the evening, Becket, in order to conceal his intention of making his escape, sent three bishops to the king, to ask his permission to retire out of the kingdom; about which Henry said he would deliberate with his council next day. The primate, who never intended to wait the result of this deliberation, arose about midnight, and passing through a postern gate, left Northampton with only two monks in his company. After lurking in different places, and travelling only by night, he arrived at Sandwich, where he embarked on board a fisher-boat before dawn, on Tuesday, November 18th (exactly two weeks after he left Northampton), and towards evening landed at Boulogne<sup>44</sup>.

The flight of the archbishop occasioned no small bustle as soon as it was known. His friends either concealed themselves, or fled. The king convened the bishops and barons, to consider what was proper to be done on that event, which seems to have been unexpected. After spending some time in consultation, it was agreed to send a splendid embassy, consisting of five bishops, and several noblemen of the first rank, to the pope, to prosecute the archbishop, and, if possible, to procure his deposition. These ambassadors were furnished with a large sum of money (which was well known to be the most prevailing advocate in the papal court), and with letters to the earl of Flanders and the

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<sup>44</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. i. c. 35. l. 2. c. 2.

**Cent XII.** king of France, intreating those princes not to afford the fugitive prelate an asylum in their dominions. It was also agreed to protect the friends and property of the primate from all violence, till the issue of this embassy should be known; and a proclamation was issued for that purpose<sup>45</sup>. The king's ambassadors sailed from Dover about the same time that Becket sailed from Sandwich, and they both arrived at St. Omer's on the same day, November 11th<sup>46</sup>. Here the latter lay concealed in a hermitage belonging to the abbey of St. Bertin, till the departure of the former; when he threw off his disguise, resumed his own name (which he had exchanged for that of *Brother Christian*), and was treated with the greatest respect and kindness by the clergy and people of those parts<sup>47</sup>.

All success  
of the  
English  
ambassa-  
dors at the  
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France.

When the English ambassadors arrived in the French court, which was then at Compeigne, they met with a very cold reception. Louis, who was a superstitious bigot, and a great admirer of Becket, with whom he held a private correspondence, was much shocked at the following expression in the king of England's letter:—"Thomas, late archbishop of Canterbury." "Late archbishop!" exclaimed he:—"Who hath deposed him? I am a king as well as your master, and yet I have no power to de-

<sup>45</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 1. p. 63. Stephanidis Vita Thomæ Cant p. 43.

<sup>46</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 5. p. 68.

<sup>47</sup> Id. ibid. c. 5, 6.

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<sup>48</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l.

<sup>50</sup> Id. ibid. c. 2. p. 7.

Cent. XII.  
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Robert Foliot bishop of London, who spoke first, using some severe expressions concerning the archbishop, was interrupted by the pope; which disconcerted him so much, that he could not proceed. Hilary bishop of Chichester, who was very vain of his eloquence, had no better fortune; for happening to pronounce a Latin word wrong (*oportuebat* for *oportebat*), so loud a laugh was raised, that he was quite confounded and put to silence. The other three bishops observing the ill success of their brethren, said but little. The earl of Arundel, having apologized for his ignorance of the Latin language, made a speech in English; in which he artfully extolled the authority of the pope, before which, he said, all the world bowed; he magnified the veneration of his sovereign for the person and character of his holiness, of which, he observed, the present embassy, consisting of the most honourable persons in his kingdom, was a proof; he even spoke in very respectful terms of the archbishop, and said, that England might have been perfectly happy under a good prince and an excellent pastor, if an unfortunate difference had not broken out between them; and concluded, with intreating the pope to restore peace between these two personages, by commanding the archbishop to return to England, and by sending a legate thither to terminate all their disputes<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 9. p. 74, 75.

This soothing speech was very favourably heard; and the pope, having consulted with the cardinals, told the ambassadors, that no answer could be given to their petition till the archbishop had been heard. But the ambassadors insisting on an immediate answer, because their master had commanded them to stay only three days, his holiness was thrown into great perplexity. Some of the cardinals, who had been secretly gained by the ambassadors, pleaded earnestly for granting their petition; and, as the schism still subsisted, the pope was apprehensive, that if he gave a flat denial, the king of England might abandon his party, and embrace that of his opponent. On the other hand, it was thought equally imprudent and dishonourable, to abandon the archbishop, who had suffered so much for the immunities of the clergy. The pope, therefore, after some deliberation, adhered to his former answer: on which the ambassadors left his court, and hastened back to England, where they arrived about Christmas A. D. 1164<sup>52</sup>.

As soon as Becket was assured of the favour and protection of the king of France, he collected his scattered followers, and set out from St. Omer's. When he arrived at Soissons, where the French court then resided, the king paid him the first visit, embraced him in the most affectionate manner, and obliged him to accept of an order on the royal treasury for every thing

Cent. 2.  
The  
pope's  
answer.  
The an-  
bassado  
return  
England

Receptio  
of Becket  
by the  
king of  
France  
and the  
pope.  
The con-  
stitution  
of Clare  
don con-  
demned.

<sup>52</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 9. p. 75, 76.



Cent. XII. he needed while he remained in France. Having spent three days at Soissons, he departed with a numerous retinue for Sens, which he entered in a kind of triumph, and was received with the greatest respect and kindness by the pope. Next day a solemn council of all the cardinals and prelates was held, in which he was seated on the pope's right hand, and desired to explain his cause without rising from his seat. He made a very artful speech; in which he magnified the high favour in which he had long stood with the king of England, which he said he could recover when he pleased, if he would abandon the cause of the church, and submit to the constitutions of Clarendon. He then produced a copy of these constitutions, which he desired might be read. Nothing could be better contrived than this to secure the favour of the pope and cardinals, as several of these constitutions were directly calculated to abridge their power and abolish their usurpations. Accordingly, they were no sooner read, than the whole assembly broke out into the strongest expressions of their abhorrence of them, and into the highest encomiums on the archbishop, declaring, that his cause was the cause of God and the church, and that he ought to be supported<sup>53</sup>. On the day after, in a private consistory, Becket, still further to ingratiate himself, resigned his see into the hands of the pope, pretending, that his conscience was much disquieted

<sup>53</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. p. 77, 78.

for his having been advanced to that dignity by the influence of the king. Some of the cardinals, who were secretly in the interest of the court of England, and by the historians of those times are called the pharisees, proposed to accept of this resignation, as the best way of terminating this dispute; but the majority rejected this proposal with disdain, declaring, that if Becket was abandoned, no bishop would dare to resist his prince, and the church would be ruined. By their advice, the pope restored the archbishopric to Becket, with high encomiums on his piety and fortitude, at the same time appointing him to take up his residence in the abbey of Pontigni in Burgundy<sup>54</sup>.

Cent. XII.

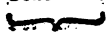
When Henry received the report of his ambassadors on their return from Sens, he was highly offended both with the pope and the archbishop, and resolved to make them feel the weight of his resentment. In order to this, he prohibited the payment of Peter-pence, and commanded all clerks who presumed to appeal to the pope, to be imprisoned<sup>55</sup>. He also commanded all the goods and revenues of the archbishop, and of all the clergy who adhered to him, to be seized. He did not even stop here, but confiscated the estates, and banished the persons, of all the primate's friends, retainers, and rela-

A. D. 1165.

Severe measures against Becket and his friends.

<sup>54</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, c. 12. p. 79, 80.

<sup>55</sup> Epistolæ Divi Thomæ, l. 1. ep. 13, 14, 15. Hoveden Annal. p. 285. col. 1.

Cent. XII.  


tions, to the number of about four hundred, obliging them to take an oath to present themselves before Becket, in hopes that the sight of so many persons involved in ruin on his account, would shake his resolution, and induce him to submit. But this step was as imprudent as it was unjust. For it made the king appear in the light of a cruel tyrant, and excited universal compassion towards the archbishop and his exiled friends, who were so hospitably entertained by the king of France, and his nobility and clergy, that they lived more happily than in their own country<sup>56</sup>.

Interview  
 between  
 Henry and  
 the king of  
 France.

The kings of France and England had an interview at Gizors, in Easter week, A. D. 1165, in which the affair of Becket was the chief subject of their negotiations. But as Henry insisted on the submission of the archbishop to the constitutions of Clarendon, and Louis refused to withdraw his protection from him, nothing was concluded<sup>57</sup>. An interview was proposed about the same time between king Henry and the pope; which did not take place; because the king proposed that the archbishop should not be present; to which his holiness returned this haughty answer: "That no man had a right to exclude any person from the presence of the sovereign pontiff, whose prerogative it had always been, to protect oppressed exiles from the violence

<sup>56</sup> Stephanid. in Vita S. Thomæ, p. 52. Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2, c. 14. p. 82.

<sup>57</sup> J. Sarisbur. Epist. 31.

“ of the wicked, and even from the rage of  
 “ princes <sup>58</sup>.”

Henry was so much engaged for the greatest part of this year, after his return from the continent, in his wars against the princes of Wales, that he had no leisure to attend to the affairs of the church, or of the exiled archbishop, who continued to reside in the abbey of Pontigni. In this retreat, his historians tell us, he spent his time in reading the scriptures, and in devout exercises, and sometimes amused himself, by assisting the monks in their rural labours <sup>59</sup>. But there is sufficient evidence, that he was far from being unmindful of his secular interests. For in this interval he wrote many letters to different persons in England, in which he praises some for their adherence to, and reproaches others for their apostasy from, the cause of God; with which honourable appellation he dignified his own side of the question in his dispute with the king <sup>60</sup>. He also engaged the pope to write letters to several persons in England, exhorting and commanding them to espouse his cause <sup>61</sup>. He had also agents in the courts of Rome and France, as well as in England, who laboured to increase the number of his friends, and to raise up enemies to his sovereign <sup>62</sup>. At his instigation the pope published a bull, annulling the sentence pronounced

<sup>58</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 16. p. 84.

<sup>59</sup> Gervas apud X Script. col. 1400.

<sup>60</sup> Vide Epistolas Thomæ Cantuarien. Epist. 34. 40. 52, &c. &c.

<sup>61</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Baron. Annal. ann. 1168.

do as he pleased with others<sup>66</sup>. In consequence of this permission he excommunicated John of Oxford, who had been much employed by the king, and suspended the bishop of Salisbury, for admitting John into the deanry of that church. He also excommunicated Richard de Lucy, chief justiciary, and Joceline de Baliol, because they had been the chief promoters of the constitutions of Clarendon; with Ralph de Broc, Hugh de St. Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, because they had seized the possessions of the church of Canterbury. All these censures he notified in a letter directed to all the bishops of the province of Canterbury; acquainting them at the same time, that he had delayed a little the excommunication of the king, in hopes of his repentance; but that if he did not repent very soon, he would delay no longer<sup>67</sup>.

Not only the bishop of Salisbury, but all the other bishops and clergy, were alarmed at these violent proceedings, and more violent threatenings; and wrote a letter in the name of all the clergy of his province to their primate; in which they represented, with great freedom,—his ingratitude to his gracious sovereign, who had raised him from a low condition to the highest honours;—the uncanonical means by which he had obtained his see;—the informality and severity of his censures already pronounced;—the injustice and danger of those which he meditated

<sup>66</sup> Epistol. S. Thomæ, Ep. 54.

<sup>67</sup> Id. Ep. 96. 100.

against

**Cent. XII.** against the king;—and concluded with an appeal to the pope against all his proceedings<sup>68</sup>. But Becket was so far from being restrained by this letter, to which he wrote a very long and spirited answer, that he prepared in earnest to execute his threats. With this resolution he acquainted the pope, by a letter, in which he painted the king of England in the most odious colours, as a cruel, impious, unrelenting persecutor, who had tried and condemned Christ, at Northampton, in his person<sup>69</sup>.

Henry's precautions against the effects of his threatened excommunication.

When Henry heard of Becket's design, he was much alarmed; and called a council of his barons and prelates at Chinon in Touraine, to consider what was to be done to prevent his excommunication, or to guard against its consequences. At the opening of this council; the king is said to have been much agitated, to have even shed tears, and to have spoken with much bitterness against Becket, who, he said, seemed to be determined to ruin both his soul and body. After long deliberation, the council could think of no better expedient than an appeal to the pope; and two bishops were sent to Pontigni to notify that appeal. When these prelates reached the place of his retreat, they were told, that the archbishop had gone a few days before to Soissons, to perform his devotions at the shrine of St. Dransius, the patron of combatants, to implore his protection in that dangerous conflict in

<sup>68</sup> Epistol. S. Thomæ, Ep. 126.

<sup>69</sup> Id. Ep. 129.

which he was engaged against the king of England. This prevented their giving him a regular notification of the appeal<sup>70</sup>. Henry, still apprehensive that nothing would stop the furious zeal of Becket, sent orders into England, to guard the sea-coasts with the greatest care, to search all who came from the continent, and if letters of excommunication or interdict were found upon any person, to punish him, if he was a clergyman, by castration; if he was a layman, by death<sup>71</sup>. So terrible to the greatest princes were the thunders of the church in those days of darkness and superstition!

Becket in his return from the shrine of St. Dransius, full of confidence in the protection of that courageous saint, halted at Vizelay, where he designed to pronounce the dreaded anathema against his sovereign, on Whitsunday A. D. 1166; but was prevented by a message from his great friend the king of France, who acquainted him, that Henry had fallen into a dangerous sickness, and advised him to delay the final sentence against him for some time. Not daring to disregard this advice, and yet determined to do something decisive, he mounted the rostrum on Whitsunday, and, before a crowded audience, published sentences of excommunication against all the king of England's ministers and chief confidants, by name; declaring, that he would

<sup>70</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 146.

<sup>71</sup> See Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. octavo, vol. 4. p. 473.

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in a short time pronounce a similar sentence against the king himself if he did not speedily repent, and repair the injuries he had done to the church. At the same time, he declared the impious constitutions of Clarendon null and void, absolved all the bishops of England from the unlawful oath they had taken to obey them, and excommunicated all persons who paid them any regard<sup>72</sup>. Henry was so much offended at these presumptuous proceedings, that he threatened the monks of the Cistercian order, that he would expel them out of all his dominions, if they entertained his enemy the archbishop of Canterbury any longer at Pontigni; which obliged him to remove to Sens about Martinmas A.D. 1166, where an honourable asylum was provided for him by the king of France<sup>73</sup>.

Change in  
the politics  
of the  
court of  
Rome.

In the mean time the agents of both parties were negotiating with great eagerness at the court of Rome; and those of the archbishop, October 22d, A.D. 1166, obtained for their master a legantine commission over the province of Canterbury<sup>74</sup>. This was not only a mark of the pope's favour, but a great addition of power to the archbishop, which he was preparing to use with vigour, when the balance suddenly turned against him at the court of Rome. This change in the papal politics was owing to several circumstances which are but

<sup>72</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 140.

<sup>73</sup> Vita. S. Thomæ, l. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 118.

imper-



imperfectly known. The emperor had gained some advantages in Italy, which made his hostilities set a greater value on the favour of the king of England: and the Marquis of Montferrat, who was one of the pope's most powerful allies, had asked one of Henry's daughters in marriage for his son, and warmly seconded the solicitations of the royal agents; who were also better provided with money than those of the archbishop<sup>75</sup>. These agents obtained a very soothing letter from the pope to their master the king of England, dated December 20th, A. D. 1166; in which he acquaints him, that he had given a commission to two cardinals to determine all controversies between him and the archbishop of Canterbury, and between that prelate and the bishops of England; and that these legates would set out on their journey in January;—that he had given his legates authority to absolve all the king's servants and subjects who had been excommunicated;—and that he had inhibited the archbishop from issuing any censures against him, or any of his subjects, while this cause was depending<sup>76</sup>.

Nothing could exceed the consternation of Becket when he heard of this bull; especially as he was informed at the same time, that the king's agents, John of Oxford, John Cumin, and Ralph Tamiwurde, had obtained copies of all the let-

<sup>75</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 130.

<sup>76</sup> See Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. 4. octavo, p. 478, 479.

Cent. XII. ters that he and his friends had written to the pope against the king<sup>77</sup>. Unwilling to believe so much ill news, he wrote to John of Poitou, his agent at the court of Rome, earnestly intreating him to discover the truth, and acquaint him with it; adding, "If these things which are reported be true, my lord the pope hath suffocated and strangled not only me, but also himself and all the clergy." He tells him further, that since these reports arose, the English bishops and clergy paid no regard to his commands, looking on his deposition as unavoidable; and that the French nobility and prelates, who had hitherto entertained his exiled friends, now began to discard them<sup>78</sup>.

He is supported by the king of France.

The truth is, the affairs of Becket were in a very bad condition at this time; and it is highly probable that Henry would have obtained a complete victory in this famous contest, if the king of France had not interposed. But that prince, whose reigning passions were bigotry in religion, and enmity to the king of England, was more displeased, if possible, than Becket himself, with the pope; declaring, that he would not suffer the legates to enter his dominions; and that he was as much offended with them as if they had come to pull the crown off his own head<sup>79</sup>. The strong remonstrances of Louis, the loud complaints and importunities of Becket, together

<sup>77</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. i. Ep. 164.

<sup>78</sup> Id. ibid. Ep. 165.

<sup>79</sup> Id. ibid. Ep. 166.

with some changes in the political state of Europe, gave a new turn to this affair less favourable to Henry<sup>80</sup>.

Though the legates (who were William of Pavia, a cardinal priest, and a declared friend of the king of England, and Otto, a cardinal deacon, who was suspected to be of a venal disposition) set out from Rome in January, they met with so many interruptions in their journey, from the wars in Italy and other causes, that they did not reach Montpellier till the end of October A.D. 1167<sup>81</sup>. On their arrival in France, a correspondence commenced between them and Becket on the subject of their commission; in which the latter discovers the most intolerable arrogance and inflexible obstinacy, denying that they had any authority to act as judges, but only as mediators between him and the king<sup>82</sup>. This misunderstanding about the nature of their commission, was owing to the artful dissingenuous conduct of the pope, who, in order to please both parties, had represented it, in his letters to the king, as a commission to judge and determine, but in his letters to the archbishop as a commission to negotiate a reconciliation<sup>83</sup>. The truth seems to have been, that the pope had given the legates a commission to act as judges, but had given them also secret instructions to act only as mediators<sup>84</sup>.

Duplicity  
of the  
pope.

<sup>80</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 24. <sup>81</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 4.

<sup>82</sup> Id. l. 2. Ep. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

<sup>83</sup> Id. l. 2. Ep. 1, 2.

<sup>84</sup> Id. l. 2. c. 22.

Cent. XII.

Conde-  
scension of  
the king.

When the legates<sup>s</sup> had an interview with the king of England in the city of Maine, soon after their arrival in France, and communicated their instructions to that prince, he expressed great displeasure that these instructions were different from what the pope had given him reason to expect. He complained also, that the archbishop had stirred up both the king of France and the earl of Flanders to make war upon him. He affirmed likewise, that the account which had been given to the pope by the archbishop of the constitutions of Clarendon, was false; which the English bishops then present also attested. He added further, that if any laws had been made in his own time inconsistent with the laws of the church, he was willing that they should be abolished; and at the request of the English bishops he consented that the legates should act either as judges or mediators between him and the archbishop<sup>s</sup>.

Inflexi-  
bility of  
Becket.

After these concessions, which seemed to lay a foundation for an agreement, the legates, with some difficulty, procured an interview with Becket, November 17th, A. D. 1167; at which he behaved with great haughtiness and inflexibility, refusing to submit to them as judges, and declining to give them any ground to proceed upon as mediators with the least hopes of success. For to all his seeming concessions he constantly added,—a saving of the honour of God,

<sup>s</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 23.

—of the apostolic see,—and of his own person, —of all the liberties and of all the possessions of the church, which they knew the king would not admit, as it would be a source of endless disputes<sup>26</sup>.

When the legates reported what had passed at this interview to the king and the English bishops, who were with him in Normandy, that prince and these prelates protested, that they had performed their part, in offering to submit to them either as judges or mediators, and that the archbishop had not performed his part, as he had not made a similar submission; and further, in order to screen themselves from the severe censures which they dreaded from that enraged prelate, they appealed to the pope, and put themselves and the kingdom of England under the immediate protection of the holy see, until the feast of St. Martin, in the year following. The king and bishops also requested the legates to notify their appeal to the archbishop, and to inhibit him from issuing any censures against them in the interval. With this request the legates complied, and prohibited the archbishop, in their own, and in the pope's name, from inflicting any censures on the king or kingdom of England during the time of the appeal<sup>27</sup>. No hungry lion was ever more enraged at having his prey torn from him when he was ready to devour it, than Becket was at this prohibition.

<sup>26</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 28. 30.

<sup>27</sup> Id. l. 2. Ep. 29.

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king, well knowing what was intended by these savings, rejected this offer; and, addressing himself to the king of France, said, with an affecting air and tone of voice, "My liege lord, "I earnestly intreat your attention. I know, "that whatever happens to displease him, he "will say is contrary to the honour of God, and "the rights of his order. But that it may appear to all the world that I do not oppose the "honour of God, or the real rights of his order, "I here make this offer. There have been "many kings of England before me, some "weaker and others greater than I am; there "have been also many great and holy men, "archbishops of Canterbury before him; let "him behave towards me as the greatest and "most holy of his predecessors behaved towards "the weakest of mine, and I am satisfied". This speech had no little influence on the audience, who cried out, that the king's concessions were sufficient; and the archbishop remaining silent, the king of France added, "My lord archbishop, why do you hesitate? Peace "is now in your offer." But Becket, with an invincible firmness, that could not be shaken either by the threats of his enemies, nor the most earnest intreaties of his friends, adhered to his former savings; and the conference broke off without effect<sup>92</sup>. This gave many of the French nobility unfavourable impressions of him as a

<sup>91</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 25.<sup>92</sup> Id. ibid.

person

monarchs, brought Becket with them to the place of this interview, in hopes of bringing about a reconciliation between him and his sovereign. To accomplish this, they were at great pains to persuade that haughty prelate to behave in the most humble and respectful manner to his much-offended prince, in order to appease his anger, and facilitate an accommodation; in which, being seconded by the king of France, and all the princes and prelates who were present, they at length prevailed. Accordingly, when he was introduced to Henry, he fell upon his knees, and said, "I submit myself to the mercy of God and the king, to the honour of God and the king;" a form of words that were very artfully contrived, and full of ambiguity. This did not escape the penetration of Henry, who expressed his dissatisfaction with this form of submission, and insisted that the archbishop should promise, in plain words, "That he would obey those laws and customs which the holy archbishops of Canterbury had obeyed in the times of former kings, and which he had solemnly sworn to obey." This Becket refused to do; alleging, that his predecessors had not been pressed to make such a promise. But the king insisting upon it, and many of the nobles and bishops vehemently urging him to comply, he at last consented to make the promise required, with a saving of the honour of God and of the rights of his order<sup>90</sup>. The

<sup>90</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 4. Ep. 8.

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 {veral persons of  
 high rank.

than ever, and all hope  
 seemed to be at an end.  
 to the pope, at this time  
 the bitterest terms, as  
 persecutor than Herod  
 menced, he resumed  
 authority; and, with  
 thundered out for  
 against many of the  
 the clergy and  
 bishops of London  
 deacon of Canterbury,  
 earl of Chester  
 ciary, Nigel de  
 William Giffard.

Two nuncios from  
 the pope  
 endeavour  
 to make  
 peace, but  
 in vain.

While Bertram  
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 He gave  
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 with the  
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these tempting offers were rejected, the pope suspecting that they were too great to be faithfully performed; and all that the ambassadors could obtain was a promise, that his holiness would send two nuncios into Normandy, to negotiate a peace between the king and the archbishop. Accordingly Vivian archdeacon of Rome, and Gratian subdeacon, were nominated; and having received their commission and instructions, they set out for Normandy, and were received with great respect by the king, at Damfront, August 23d, A. D. 1169<sup>97</sup>. These nuncios had several long conferences with Henry, at different places, in the months of August and September; but though they seemed to be sometimes on the very point of making peace, new difficulties still arose, and all their labours proved finally unsuccessful: on which they left Normandy soon after Michaelmas<sup>98</sup>.

After the departure of the nuncios, Henry's apprehensions of an excommunication and interdict increased so much, that he sent a messenger after Vivian, with a letter, earnestly intreating him to return, and resume his negotiations, giving him strong assurances that they would be crowned with success. With this request Vivian complied, to the great dissatisfaction of Becket, who was impatient to proceed to extremities<sup>99</sup>.

Cent. XII.

Terms of reconciliation proposed by Becket are rejected by Henry, and those proposed by Henry rejected by Becket.

<sup>97</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 6. l. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Gervas, apud X Script. col. 1407.

<sup>99</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 9, 10. l. 3.

But

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But he did not venture to disobey a letter sent him by the nuncio, requiring him to attend an interview of the kings of France and England, which was to be at St. Denys, November 15th, A. D. 1169. Having come to Paris, he sent a petition to the king, containing the conditions on which he was willing to be reconciled to his sovereign, which amounted to a full restoration of himself, and of all who had followed his fortunes, to all the rights and possessions which they had enjoyed before they left England. He also claimed all the churches and prebends belonging to the church of Canterbury that had become vacant since his retreat, that he might dispose of them as he pleased<sup>100</sup>. This last article was very disagreeable to Henry, as it would have produced the expulsion of his own friends from many valuable livings, to make way for those of the archbishop; and the whole petition was couched in such ambiguous terms, that he declined to grant it; but proposed the following plain and short terms, to which he was willing to give his consent: "That the archbishop should have his church, and all the possessions of it that had been held by his predecessors, and as they had been held by them<sup>101</sup>." This form, for very obvious reasons, was rejected by the archbishop; especially as the king had declared his resolution not to give him the kiss of peace, which in those times was esteemed an essential ceremony in all

<sup>100</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 3. Ep. 62.<sup>101</sup> Id. ibid.

reconciliations<sup>102</sup>. Vivian having thus failed in his second attempt to bring about a peace between those two jealous and inflamed opponents, returned to Italy in great discontent.

As Henry now dreaded that a sentence of excommunication would be immediately pronounced against himself, and an interdict laid on his kingdom, by the archbishop, he made haste to take the most effectual measures to prevent these sentences from being executed, or even published in England. With this view he sent over his royal injunctions, forbidding all intercourse between his subjects and the pope or archbishop; declaring it high treason to bring any interdict from either of them into England, or to pay any obedience to such interdict; confiscating all the possessions of all who should in any way favour the pope and archbishop, together with the possessions of all their relations; and finally commanded Peter-pence to be paid into the royal treasury, and not to the pope<sup>103</sup>. To render these injunctions more effectual, an oath was required from all persons, that they would observe them; which was cheerfully given by the laity of all ranks, but generally refused by the clergy<sup>104</sup>.

This was not the only means employed by Henry to prevent or guard against the censures of his adversary. He sent directions to his agents

<sup>102</sup> Du Cange, Gloss. voc. Osculum Pacis.

<sup>103</sup> Gervas Chron. apud X Script. col. 1409.

<sup>104</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 3. Ep. 65.

**Cent. XII.** at the papal court, to settle the terms of an accommodation between him and Becket, with the pope in person, which they at length accomplished; and the following form of pacification proposed by them was approved of by his holiness: "That for the love of God, of the pope, and of the church of Rome, the king would permit the archbishop to return to his church in safety, and to have and hold it in peace, together with all the possessions he had before he left England. The same to all who were in exile on his account"<sup>105</sup>. To bring about an accommodation on this plan, the pope gave a commission to the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Nevers; and as he apprehended some difficulty would occur about the kiss of peace, which the king had sworn in his anger he would never give to Becket, he absolved him from his oath, and instructed these commissioners to press him as much as possible to give it; but if they could not prevail, they were then to persuade the archbishop to accept of it from prince Henry. These prelates were also authorised to absolve all those whom Becket had excommunicated<sup>106</sup>.

Commis-  
sion of  
the pope  
to crown  
prince  
Henry.

The king of England's agents were at this time so successful in their negotiations at the court of Rome, that they obtained another favour for him from his holiness. This was a bull empowering Roger, archbishop of York, to crown

<sup>105</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 1.

<sup>106</sup> Id. ibid. Ep. 2, 3, 4.  
prince

prince Henry; a project which his too indulgent father had very much at heart, but had been prevented from executing by his quarrel with Becket, who claimed an exclusive right to perform that office<sup>107</sup>. Richard Barre brought this bull, with the commission to the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Nevers, into Normandy, in February A. D. 1170; and in the beginning of March Henry sailed into England to carry his favourite design of crowning his son into execution. These successes of the royal agents put Becket into a rage, that seems to have approached to madness. In his letters to the pope and cardinals, he tells them in the plainest terms,—that they had been bribed,—that they had absolved the devil and crucified Christ,—and that he would make no more applications to the court of Rome, where none but wicked men prevailed<sup>108</sup>.

The departure of Henry from the continent, prevented the papal nuncios from commencing their negotiations for a peace between him and Becket so soon as they intended. This served still further to inflame the fury of that prelate, to which he gave vent, by writing threatening letters to the bishops of England to deter them from crowning the young king, and by laying an interdict upon the kingdom; but the ports were so carefully guarded, and the danger of

<sup>107</sup> See Appendix, No 16. to Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. 4. octavo, p. 498.

<sup>108</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 20, 21.

bringing

Cent. XII.

bringing over these letters was so great, that none of them were made public, or produced any effect<sup>109</sup>. The king having accomplished the coronation of his son, and settled his other affairs in England, returned to the continent, and held several conferences with the nuncios, in which all the articles of reconciliation between him and Becket were agreed upon, except that of the kiss of peace. This Henry struggled earnestly to avoid promising, but was at length obliged to yield to the invincible pertinacity of the prelate; and thought himself very happy, that by the most earnest entreaties he obtained a delay of that ceremony at their first interview, because it was to be in the territories of France<sup>110</sup>. All preliminaries being thus adjusted, the archbishop was conducted in great state to an audience of his sovereign, July 22d, A. D. 1170, in a meadow near Fretville (in which the kings of France and England had held conferences the two preceding days), where the French and English courts, with a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks, were assembled. As soon as the king saw the archbishop approaching, he put spurs to his horse, and advanced to meet him, with his head uncovered. The prelate intended to have spoken first, but the king prevented him, by a most gracious address; and taking him by the hand, led him aside, and entered into a familiar conver-

<sup>109</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 4. Ep. 44, 45, 46. l. 5. Ep. 30. 35, 36, &c.

<sup>110</sup> Id. l. 5. Ep. 12. Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 68.

fation

sation with him. But all this condescension of his sovereign seems to have made little or no impression on the heart of Becket. For, according to his own account of this transaction, he made a long discourse, enumerating all the injuries the king had done to the church; dwelling long on that greatest injury of permitting his son to be crowned by the archbishop of York; and insisting, that he should make ample reparation for all these injuries, and permit those who had been concerned in them to be duly censured; to which the king assented. On this the archbishop dismounted, in order to throw himself at his feet: but in this also he was prevented by Henry, who stooped so low as to hold his stirrup, and assist him in remounting. After this the terms of the peace and reconciliation, as they had been settled, were publicly read by the archbishop of Sens, and ratified by the king; on which the other exiles, who had followed the fortunes of Becket, were introduced, and graciously received. Henry then desired the archbishop to declare his forgiveness of all those who had incurred his displeasure in the late dispute, as he had now forgiven all who had incurred his resentment. But to this most reasonable proposal, the artful prelate, who meditated revenge against all his adversaries, returned an evasive answer; pretending that some of these persons were more, and some of them less criminal; some of them were excommunicated by the pope, and some of them by other prelates; and

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Becket's  
agents ill  
received in  
England.

and therefore he could only promise in general, that if any of them failed of obtaining forgiveness in the end, it would be his own fault<sup>111</sup>.

After this long expected peace was thus concluded, the archbishop dispatched his agents into England, who carried with them letters from Henry to the young king, acquainting him with the conclusion of the peace, and commanding, that all their estates and possessions should be restored to the archbishop and the other exiles<sup>112</sup>. When these agents had been some time in England, they wrote to Becket, that they had met with a very cold reception;—that every body shunned their company, and disbelieved their report of the peace;—that when they presented the royal mandate to the young king on the Monday after Michaelmas, he appointed them to return ten days after to receive an answer;—and concluded with advising him not to return to England until he had really regained the favour of the king<sup>113</sup>. The truth is, that Henry's reconciliation to Becket was far from being cordial, and therefore he was not very pressing for the immediate execution of the conditions of it; and few imagined it would be of long continuance. That prelate, however, made bitter complaints to the king of this delay of restoring the possessions of his see, and transmitted the letters

<sup>111</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. p. 46, 47.

<sup>112</sup> Gervas apud X Script. col. 1413.

<sup>113</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 53.



of his agents to the pope, with whom he stood in the very highest degree of favour, and from whom he obtained authority to inflict the highest censures on his adversaries, particularly on the archbishop of York for crowning the young king, and on the bishops of London, Salisbury, Rochester, &c. for assisting at that solemnity<sup>114</sup>. This last favour was very agreeable to his vindictive temper, and he resolved to use it in the most effectual manner; and he even solicited a power of inflicting the same censures on the king<sup>115</sup>. But it does not appear that this was granted.

Becket had two conferences with the king after the conclusion of the peace; but as they were spent in mutual complaints, they contributed nothing to the restoration of real friendship<sup>116</sup>. At length having taken leave of his steady friend and patron the king of France, and of the prelates and nobles who had generously supported him and his friends in their exile, he set out from Sens about the middle of November, under the conduct of John of Oxford, one of his greatest enemies, who was appointed by Henry to attend him into England, and arrived at Whitfand, a sea-port in Flanders, towards the end of that month<sup>117</sup>. While he waited there for a fair wind, he found means to send over three bulls, one for

<sup>114</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 52. 54. 65. 66, 67.

<sup>115</sup> Id. ibid. Ep. 52.

<sup>116</sup> Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 70.

<sup>117</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 3. p. 110.

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suspending the archbishop of York, and the other two for excommunicating the bishops of London and Salisbury, which were actually conveyed to these prelates. Nothing could be more inexcusable than this conduct, as it was declaring war at the very moment he pretended to return in peace. Accordingly this action excited universal indignation against him, and proved the cause of his ruin. On the evening of the last day of November he sailed from Whitland, and landed next day at Sandwich, from which port he had departed six years and three weeks before; all which time he had spent in exile<sup>118</sup>. John of Oxford, though no real friend, protected him from the insults of some armed men at his landing, who commanded him in a threatening tone to absolve the excommunicated bishops<sup>119</sup>.

Troubles.  
about the  
excommu-  
nicated  
bishops.

The day after, he entered Canterbury in a kind of triumph, attended by a great crowd of the clergy and common people; and next morning he was waited upon by the agents of the bishops who had been excommunicated, demanding their absolution; which he refused<sup>120</sup>. On the return of their agents to Dover with this answer, these prelates determined to go over into Normandy, to implore the protection of their sovereign against the violence of their primate. The young king was no less incensed against Becket, as the severe censures which he had

<sup>118</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 4. Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 72.

<sup>119</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 73.

<sup>120</sup> Id. ibid.

inflicted

inflicted on those prelates for assisting at his coronation seemed to call in question its validity. He sent some of the officers of his court to Canterbury to demand the absolution of the bishops; but in vain <sup>121</sup>.

When Becket had rested about eight days at Canterbury, where he had been visited by very few persons of rank, he set out with a design to wait upon the young king at Woodstock, in order to appease his anger, and regain his favour, by valuable presents, and other means. As he approached London, of which he was a native, prodigious crowds of men, women, and children, came out to meet him, and conducted him through the city to his lodgings in Southwark with loud acclamations; in return for which he scattered amongst them both money and episcopal benedictions. But his vanity was soon after mortified by a message from the young king, forbidding him to proceed any further, or to enter any royal town or castle; and commanding him to return immediately to Canterbury, and confine himself within the precincts of his church <sup>122</sup>. After hesitating some time, he resolved to comply with this message; and returned to Canterbury, escorted by a company of armed men, to protect him from any sudden assault. Here he resided about a week in great solitude, receiving daily accounts of fresh insults offered to his friends,

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<sup>121</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 73.

<sup>122</sup> Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 75.

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and depredations committed on his estates; which made him say to one of his greatest confidants, That he was now convinced this quarrel would not end without blood; but that he was determined to die for the liberties of the church<sup>122</sup>. On Christmas day he preached in the cathedral; and at the end of his sermon pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Ranulph de Broc (his great enemy), Robert de Broc, and almost all the king's most familiar servants, with visible marks of the most violent anger in his voice and countenance<sup>124</sup>.

Passionate  
expression  
of the  
king.

When the archbishop of York, with the bishops of London and Salisbury, arrived in Normandy, they threw themselves at the king's feet, and implored his protection from that disgrace and ruin with which they were threatened by the primate, painting the violence of his proceedings against themselves, and others, in such strong colours, that Henry fell into one of those violent fits of passion to which he was liable. In the height of his fury he cried out,—“ Shall this fellow, who came to court on a lame horse, with all his estate in a wallet behind him, trample upon his king, the royal family, and the whole kingdom? Will none of all those lazy cowardly knights whom I maintain, deliver me from this turbulent priest<sup>125</sup> ?”

<sup>122</sup> Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 78.

<sup>124</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 10. p. 118.

<sup>125</sup> Id. ibid. p. 119.

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This passionate exclamation made too deep an impression on some of those who heard it, particularly on the four following barons, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Breto, who formed a resolution, either to terrify the archbishop into submission, or to put him to death. Having laid their plan, they left the court at different times, and took different routes, to prevent suspicion; but being conducted by the devil, as some monkish historians tell us, they all arrived at the castle of Ranulph de Broc, about six miles from Canterbury, on the same day, December 28th, and almost at the same hour<sup>126</sup>. Here they settled the whole scheme of their proceedings, and next morning early set out for Canterbury, accompanied by a body of resolute men, with arms concealed under their clothes. These men they placed in different parts of the city to prevent any interruption from the citizens. The four barons above named then went unarmed, with twelve of their company, to the archiepiscopal palace, about eleven o'clock forenoon, and were admitted into the apartment where the archbishop sat conversing with some of his clergy. After their admission a long silence ensued, which was at length broken by Reginald Fitz-Urse, who told the archbishop, that they were sent by the king to command him to absolve the prelates, and others, whom he had

<sup>126</sup> Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 78, 79.

Cent. XII.

excommunicated; and then to go to Winchester, and make satisfaction to the young king, whom he had endeavoured to dethrone<sup>127</sup>. On this a very long and violent altercation followed, in the course of which they gave several hints, that his life was in danger if he did not comply. But he remained undaunted in his refusal. At their departure they charged his servants not to allow him to flee; on which he cried out with great vehemence,—“Flee! I will never flee from any man living. I am not come to flee, but to “defy the rage of impious assassins<sup>128</sup>.” When they were gone, his friends blamed him for the roughness of his answers, which had inflamed the fury of his enemies, and earnestly pressed him to make his escape; but he only answered,—“I have no need of your advice.—I know what I ought to do.” The barons with their accomplices, finding their threats were ineffectual, put on their coats of mail; and taking each a sword in his right hand, and an ax in his left, returned to the palace; but found the gate shut. When they were preparing to break it open, Robert de Broc conducted them up a back stair, and let them in at a window. A cry then arose, “they are armed! they are armed!” on which the clergy hurried the archbishop almost by force into the church, hoping that the sacredness of the place would protect him from violence.

<sup>127</sup> Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 81.<sup>128</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 14.

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They would also have shut the door, but he cried out,—“ Begone ye cowards! I charge you  
 “ on your obedience, do not shut the door.  
 “ What! will you make a castle of a church?”  
 The conspirators having searched the palace, came to the church, and one of them crying,—  
 “ Where is that traitor? where is the arch-  
 “ bishop?” Becket advanced boldly, and said,  
 “ Here I am, an archbishop, but no traitor!”  
 “ Flee,” cried the conspirator, “ or you are a  
 “ dead man.” “ I will never flee,” replied  
 Becket. William de Tracy then took hold of  
 his robe, and said, “ you are my prisoner; come  
 “ along with me.” But Becket seizing him by  
 the collar, shook him with so much force, that he  
 almost threw him down. De Tracy, enraged at  
 this resistance, aimed a blow with his sword,  
 which almost cut off the arm of one Edward  
 Grim, a priest, and slightly wounded the arch-  
 bishop on the head. By three other blows given  
 by the other three conspirators, his skull was  
 cloven almost in two, and his brains scattered  
 about the pavement of the church <sup>129</sup>.

Thus fell Thomas Becket, December 29th,  
 A. D. 1170, in the fifty-third year of his age,  
 and ninth of his pontificate. He was evidently  
 a man of very great abilities, particularly of con-  
 summate cunning, undaunted courage, and invin-  
 cible constancy in the prosecution of his designs.

<sup>129</sup> Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 14—18. Stephanides Vita S.  
 Thomæ, p. 81—87.

Cent. XII.

But his schemes were of a most pernicious tendency, to emancipate the ministers of religion from the restraints of law, and to subject his king and country to a foreign power. He was vain, obstinate, and implacable; as little affected by the intreaties of his friends as by the threats of his enemies. His ingratitude to his royal benefactor admits of no excuse, and hath fixed an indelible stain upon his character. Though his murderers were highly criminal, his death was very seasonable, and probably prevented much mischief and confusion.

1171.  
Immediate  
effects of  
Becket's  
death.

Few events in history have made a greater noise than the murder of archbishop Becket. It was generally imputed to the commands of the king of England, and represented as the most execrable deed that ever had been perpetrated. The king of France, the earl of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, and several other prelates, wrote accounts of it to the pope, in the most tragical strains, calling upon him to draw the sword of St. Peter, and inflict some exquisite punishment on "that horrible persecutor of God, who exceeded Nero in cruelty, Julian in perfidy, and Judas in treachery<sup>130</sup>." But none expressed greater grief and horror at this deed than Henry himself, who broke out into the loudest lamentations, refused to see any company, to take any food, or admit of any consolation for three days; of which he took care to have a pathetic narrative

<sup>130</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 78. 80, 81.



transmitted to the pope by the bishop of Lizieux, declaring his innocence in the strongest terms, and intreating his holiness to suspend all censures till he had examined into the truth <sup>131</sup>.

Not long after he sent a numerous and splendid embassy to the papal court, to endeavour to prevent the dreaded sentences of an interdict and excommunication. When the English ambassadors arrived at Fiescati, where the pope then resided, they met with nothing but frowns and threats. His holiness refused to permit them to kiss his feet, and few of the cardinals would admit them to an audience. They were also informed, that the pope designed to denounce the sentence of excommunication against the king, and of an interdict against his dominions, on Maunday Thursday, which was then approaching. To avert this terrible blow, they exerted themselves with so much vigour, and in particular laid out a very great sum of money with so much judgment, that they gained many friends, and even obtained several audiences of the pope, in which they pleaded their prince's cause so well, that the intended sentences were not pronounced <sup>132</sup>. Before they obtained this very essential favour, four of the ambassadors took a solemn oath, that the king would submit to the pleasure of his holiness; and the pope engaged to send two legates into Normandy, to settle the terms of his reconciliation to the church. In a

<sup>131</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 79.

<sup>132</sup> Id. ibid. Ep. 83, 84.

Cent. XII.

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1172.

Accommodation
between
Henry and
the court
of Rome.

word, the dispositions of the papal court were so entirely changed, that the pope was prevailed upon to write a letter to Henry, in very friendly terms, and to absolve the English bishops whom Becket had excommunicated ¹³³.

Henry being thus relieved from his apprehensions of the thunders of the church, which in those days of darkness and superstition made the greatest monarchs tremble, left Normandy, and arrived in England (August 7th), where he found every thing in profound tranquillity ¹³⁴. His expedition into Ireland, in which he immediately engaged, engrossed all his thoughts, and suspended his negotiations with the papal court for almost a whole year. In the mean time his holiness nominated the two cardinals, Albert and Theodwin, to be his legates, for terminating this long and violent contest with the king of England. Though Henry had made great progress in the conquest of Ireland, and earnestly desired to stay some months longer in that island, in order to finish that important business; yet he no sooner heard of the arrival of these legates in his continental dominions, than he hastened through England into Normandy, where he landed in the beginning of September. In the first conferences the terms proposed by the two cardinals appeared so hard, that Henry threatened to break off the treaty, and return to Ireland.

¹³³ Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 84.

¹³⁴ Gervas apud X Script. col. 1419,

But

But at length, all the conditions were amicably settled at Avranches, September 18th, A. D. 1172, when the king, in the presence of the legates, and of a great assembly of princes, prelates, nobles, and others, swore on the gospels, and the relics of the saints, in the church of St. Andrew, "that he had neither commanded nor desired the death of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that when he heard it he was very much grieved." But as he was afraid that his passionate expressions had excited the murderers of the archbishop to perpetrate that horrid deed, he consented to the following conditions to atone for his offence, and to procure a full reconciliation with the church: 1. To give to the knights templars as much money as would pay two hundred knights for one year to serve in the Holy Land; and, at next Christmas, to take the cross, and go in person into the Holy Land the following summer, unless he obtained a dispensation from the pope. 2. To permit appeals to be made to the pope, in good faith, and without fraud; but if he suspected any of the appellants of ill intentions, he might oblige them to give security that they would attempt nothing to the detriment of him or his kingdom. 3. To abolish such evil customs against the church as had been introduced in his own time. 4. To restore all the possessions of the church of Canterbury, and of all the clergy and laity of both sexes who had been deprived of their estates on account of the late archbishop. Both the king and his son at the same

Cent. XII.

same time swore, that they would adhere to pope Alexander as long as he treated them as Christian and Catholic kings ¹³⁵. Thus terminated this memorable struggle between the crown and mitre, less to the disadvantage of the former than could have been expected.

Disputes
about the
election of
an arch-
bishop.

The next ecclesiastical affair that engaged the attention of the king and kingdom, was the choice of an archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of England, towards which some steps were taken immediately after the young king's return from Normandy. Odo prior of Canterbury was called to court to consult about this matter; but he pretended, that the monks of that cathedral had the sole right of electing an archbishop, to the exclusion both of the king and the bishops of the province. On this he was sent home to deliberate more maturely on this matter, with the monks of his convent, and to report the result of their deliberations. At his return to court, about three weeks after, he reported that the monks would not relinquish their claim. He was then commanded to wait upon the old king in Normandy; with which he complied. On his arrival there, Henry dreading, that if the choice of an archbishop was left to the monks, who were professed admirers of Becket, it would fall upon some person of the

¹³⁵ Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 88, 89. Vita S. Thomæ, p. 147, 148. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 303, 304. Gervas apud X Script. col. 1421, 1422.

same

same principles, exerted every art in his power to prevail upon Odo to consent to the election of the bishop of Baieux, who was a man of a gentle and flexible disposition. He even descended to the most humble and earnest intreaties, that he would take pity upon him, and not drive him to commit some greater crime than he had yet committed. But all his intreaties were in vain: the hard-hearted monk remained inflexible, and returned to England. About the end of this year an assembly was held at London for the election of an archbishop; but the monks still insisting on their exclusive right to elect, it broke up without effect ¹³⁶.

When the monks returned to Canterbury, beginning to fear that if they continued to adhere strictly to their claim, some violent measures would be adopted, they held a chapter, in which it was agreed to propose three persons to the king, of which he might chuse one to be the archbishop. This proposal was accordingly made to Richard de Lucy, high justiciary and regent of the kingdom; who embraced it with joy, and called an assembly of the bishops and monks at London in February; in which Roger abbot of Bec was unanimously elected. But this election, after it had been confirmed by the king, was defeated by the obstinate refusal of the abbot to accept of the dignity to which he had been

¹³⁶ Gervas apud X Script. col. 1422, 1423.

chosen.

Cent. XII.

chosen¹³⁷. On this another assembly of the bishops and monks met at London, about the end of April, in which the six sees of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, Bath, Chichester, and Lincoln, were filled up by the following persons, Richard de Ivcestre archdeacon of Poitiers, Geoffrey Redel archdeacon (commonly called by Becket archdevil) of Canterbury, Robert Foliot, Reginald, son of Joceline bishop of Salisbury, John of Greenford, and Geoffrey, the king's natural son by the fair Rosamond. These persons were all very agreeable to the king, and some of them had been the most active enemies of the late primate. But when the assembly proceeded to elect an archbishop, the dispute between the monks and bishops revived, and though various expedients were proposed, it could not be compromised. The chief justiciary, having taken some private measures to make the choice of the monks to fall upon a person who he knew would not be disagreeable to the king, ventured to call a third assembly to meet at London in the beginning of June. After several sessions, and very warm debates, the monks, June 8th, proposed Richard prior of Dover to be their archbishop; who being approved of by the bishops, and by the chief justiciary, in the king's name, was declared duly elected. The archbishop-elect made his public entry into Canterbury, on Sa-

¹³⁷ Gervas apud X Script. col. 1423, 1424.

turday,

turday, June 14th; and was to have been consecrated the day after; which was prevented by a very unexpected obstacle. The bishops who attended to assist at the consecration, received a letter from the young king, who was then in open rebellion against his father, protesting against the late election, and acquainting them that he had appealed against it to the pope. After some debate, it was agreed to delay the consecration, and that the archbishop-elect should go to Rome to prosecute his own cause, and the cause of the other bishops lately elected, against whom the young king had also protested and appealed ¹³⁸.

When the elect of Canterbury arrived at Rome, he found the papal court very much divided between the parties of Henry and his rebellious sons. After he had waited long, and spent much money, his election was confirmed; and he was consecrated on the Sunday after Easter A. D. 1174, by the pope, who also appointed him his legate in England ¹³⁹. On his return from Rome, he had an interview (which seems to have been accidental) with the king, in the month of August, at a public house near Caen in Normandy, where they dined together, and then separated. The archbishop made his public entry into Canterbury in a kind of triumph, October 10th, and the next day con-

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¹³⁸ Geivias apud X Script. col. 1424, 1425, 1426. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 307.

¹³⁹ Id. ibid. p. 308. col. 1.

secrated

Cent. XII. secrated the bishops who had been lately elected ¹⁴⁰.

1175.
Transac-
tions of a
council at
Westmin-
ster.

The civil wars being now happily terminated by a pacification between Henry and his sons, the archbishop held a council of the English clergy at Westminster, May 28th, in which eighteen canons were promulgated, and confirmed by the authority of both kings and of the barons of the kingdom, who were present in the council. There was little new or very remarkable in these canons. By the first, the celibacy of all the clergy above the rank of subdeacons was commanded, and the succession of sons to their fathers in the same churches forbidden: a sufficient proof that all the severe canons that had been made against the marriages of the clergy had hitherto been ineffectual. By the fourth, archdeacons were authorised to crop such of the clergy as wore long hair. By the other canons, churchmen were forbidden—to frequent public houses,—to bear civil offices,—to take farms,—to carry arms, &c. &c ¹⁴¹. The archbishop of York was not present at this council; but sent some of his clergy to claim a right to carry his cross erect within the province of Canterbury, and to demand the subjection of the bishops of Hereford, Lincoln, Worcester, and Chester, to him as their metropolitan; and upon these claims being rejected, they, in his name, appealed to the pope ¹⁴². The clergy of

¹⁴⁰ Gervas, col. 1427, 1428.

¹⁴¹ Id. col. 1430, &c.

¹⁴² Hoveden. Annal. p. 311.

the diocese of St. Asaph complained to the council against Godfrey their bishop for non-residence, and he was obliged to resign his bishopric¹⁴³. After the council was dissolved, the two kings accompanied the archbishop to Canterbury, to return their united thanks for the late pacification to St. Thomas Becket, who had been canonized about two years before, and now eclipsed all the saints in heaven, by the fame of his miracles and the reputation of his power¹⁴⁴. The sincerity of Henry's devotion towards this new saint, who had long been his most dangerous and detested enemy, may be justly doubted.

About the end of October A. D. 1175, cardinal Hugo, who had been appointed by the pope his legate *a latere*, landed in England; and, with the king's permission, made a progress into many parts of the kingdom, visiting the richer churches and abbeys. "As his business" (says a contemporary historian) was, to root out and to plant, he performed it very diligently, by rooting out money from the purses of others, and planting it in his own coffers¹⁴⁵." The king had solicited this legation from the pope, in order, as it was given out, to terminate the disputes between the archbishops of Canterbury and York; but, in reality (as it was surmised), to procure a divorce

¹⁴³ Hoveden. Annal. p. 311.¹⁴⁴ Gervas, col. 1432.¹⁴⁵ Id. col. 1433.

Cent. XII. from his queen, who had instigated her sons to their late rebellion. Towards this however he took no public step ¹⁴⁶. The controversies of the two prelates were referred to the archbishop of Rouen, and some foreign bishops, and they were enjoined to suspend all disputes on these subjects for five years ¹⁴⁷.

Quarrel
between
the arch-
bishops of
York and
Canter-
bury.

But notwithstanding this injunction, their animosity broke out with the most indecent violence, at a council summoned to meet at Westminster in the middle of Lent A. D. 1176. For when the legate had taken his seat, a struggle ensued between the two archbishops about the seat next to him on the right hand, in which the followers of the archbishop of Canterbury interposed, threw down his antagonist of York, and trampled upon him with their feet. This occasioned so great a tumult, that the legate retired in a fright, and the council broke up in confusion. Both prelates appealed to the pope, and complained to the king; who at first was much incensed at the archbishop of Canterbury; but, upon better information, and cooler thought, he laboured to reconcile the two enraged prelates; in which he at last succeeded, both of them withdrawing their appeals, and promising to live in peace. The legate was so much disgusted, that he hastened out of England ¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁶ Gervas, col. 143.

¹⁴⁷ Hoveden. Annal. p. 313.

¹⁴⁸ Hoveden. Annal. p. 315. col. 1. Gervas, col. 1433, 1434.

A schism which had subsisted in the church of Rome almost eighteen years, was terminated in the course of this year, by the degradation of Calixtus the antipope, and the submission of Frederic emperor of Germany to pope Alexander. At an interview between the emperor and the pope, in the city of Venice, July 24th, A. D. 1177; this important transaction was concluded; and the former paid certain honours to the latter (such as giving him the right hand in all processions, and holding his stirrup when he mounted); with which he was highly pleased, and of which he wrote a pompous account to the two English archbishops¹⁴⁹. The ecclesiastical events which happened in England in this and the succeeding year, were neither singular nor important.

The extinction of the late schism which had so long subsisted in the church, added not a little to the power and wealth, as well as to the satisfaction, of the victorious pontiff, who determined to make the best use of this favourable event. With this view he sent his legates into all the countries in communion with the church of Rome, and particularly into Normandy, England, Scotland, and Ireland, to summon the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to attend a general council at Rome in the time of Lent this year¹⁵⁰. From several Scotch and Irish bi-

¹⁴⁹ Gervas, col. 1439. Hoveden. p. 325. col. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Chron. J. Brompt. inter X Scrip. col. 1138.

Cent. XII.

shops who passed through England in their way to this council, Henry exacted an oath, that they would attempt nothing against him, or his kingdom; and that they would return the same way¹⁵¹. So attentive were princes in those times to all the motions of the clergy. Only four English bishops, those of Durham, Oxford, Hereford, and Bath, repaired to this council, as the English prelates claimed a privilege of being represented by four of their number in all general councils. But this claim was not sustained, and the absent prelates were obliged to pay considerable sums of money to prevent their being censured; to obtain which money, is said by contemporary writers, to have been one great object of calling this council¹⁵². Pope Alexander opened the council in the church of St. John de Lateran, March 5th, A. D. 1179, with great pomp, attended by the whole college of cardinals, by the magistrates and nobles of Rome, by the ambassadors of the emperor, and of all the kings and princes of the Western church, by three hundred and ten bishops, besides a prodigious number of abbots and inferior clergy. In the third session, which was held March 21st, thirty-three canons were published, and received the sanction of the council¹⁵³. These canons are too long to be here inserted, and have no

¹⁵¹ Chron. J. Brompt. inter X Script. col. 1138.

¹⁵² Hoveden, p. 332. col. 2. G. Neubrigenf. l. 3. c. 2.

¹⁵³ Id. l. 3. c. 3. Diceto, col. 63. J. Brompt. col. 113.

particular reference to the church of England. Some of them contain very wise and just regulations; while others carry the usurpations of the papacy over the prerogatives of princes and the rights of conscience, to the most impious and daring height.

The fame of St. Thomas Becket for working miracles, increased with so much rapidity, that by this time he was more celebrated on that account than any other saint. This brought prodigious numbers of persons of all ranks, and from different countries, to Canterbury, to perform their devotions, and obtain cures for themselves or friends. The king of France, his old friend and patron, being in great anxiety about the life of his only son Philip, who had fallen into a dangerous sickness, resolved to apply to him for help, and came into England, attended by the earl of Flanders, and many other nobles. He was received with great respect by Henry on his landing at Dover, August 22d, A. D. 1179, and conducted to the tomb of Becket, where he performed his devotions, and presented a chalice of gold, with a grant of one hundred casks of wine annually to the monks of the cathedral¹⁵⁴. At his return to the continent, he received the agreeable news of his son's recovery, which was universally ascribed to the prayers and merits of St. Thomas, and greatly increased his fame. The church-history of England in the three next

¹⁵⁴ Hoveden. Annal. p. 338. J. Brompt. col. 1140.

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A.D. 1183.

Clergy endeavour to reconcile Henry and his sons.

years, contains nothing but the successions of prelates, and matters of little moment.

An unnatural war having this year broken out between Henry and his sons, Richard archbishop of Canterbury, with Waleran bishop of Rochester, and several Norman bishops and abbots, held a council at Caen in Normandy, by a mandate from the pope; in which, on Ascension-day, they denounced a sentence of excommunication against all who disturbed the peace of the elder Henry, except the young king¹⁵⁵. About the same time the archbishop wrote a letter to that prince, expostulating with him on the folly and iniquity of his conduct, earnestly intreating him to return to his duty, and concluding with an assurance, that if he did not do this in fifteen days, he, as well as his followers, would be excommunicated¹⁵⁶.

1184.

Archbishop Richard's death and character. Succeeded by Baldwin bishop of Worcester.

These were some of the last transactions in which Richard archbishop of Canterbury was engaged. For he died, after a short illness, February 16th, A. D. 1184, in the eleventh year of his pontificate¹⁵⁷. He appears to have been a prelate of a mild temper, innocent life, and moderate principles; condemning the unreasonable immunities of the clergy, for which his predecessor had contended with so much violence, as equally pernicious to church and state¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁵ Hoveden, p. 354. col. 1.

¹⁵⁶ Epistol. P. Blefens. Ep. 47. p. 69.

¹⁵⁸ Epistol. P. Blefens. Ep. 73. p. 109.

¹⁵⁷ Hoveden, p. 355.

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This made him no great favourite of the monks, who represent him as too indolent, timid, and complying. Henry had been so much assisted by the late primate, that he was impatient to see his place supplied by a person of similar principles; and having fixed on Baldwin bishop of Worcester, he earnestly laboured to bring about his election. In this he met with great opposition from the monks of Canterbury; but at length, after several meetings, this opposition was overcome, and Baldwin was elected ¹⁴⁹.

About the beginning of this year, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, with the grand master of the knights-hospitalers, arrived in England; and being introduced to Henry at Reading, and falling at his feet, most earnestly intreated him to come to the protection of the Holy Land, which was in danger of being lost; presenting him at the same time with the keys of Jerusalem and of the holy sepulchre; together with a most pathetic letter from the pope, exhorting him to undertake that expedition. Henry raised them from the ground, with many expressions of kindness and sympathy, promising to give them an answer when he had consulted his great council, which was to meet on the first Sunday of Lent, at London ¹⁵⁰. By this assembly, which was very full, the king was advised not to engage in an expedition into the Holy Land, till he had consulted with the king of France; which

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¹⁴⁹ Hoveden. Annal. p. 356.

¹⁵⁰ Id. p. 359.



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was given as an answer to the two ambassadors¹⁶¹. But that they might not have reason to complain that their application had been together unsuccessful, Henry promised them aid of fifty thousand marks; and gave a pension to such of his subjects as pleased to wear the cross¹⁶².

1136.

Dispute
between
the pri-
mate and
the monks
of Canter-
bury.

About this time a quarrel began between Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of his cathedral, which made a mighty noise and continued several years. The archbishop offended perhaps at the keen opposition that had been made by the monks to his election, and discovered a disposition to diminish their weight and abridge their power. With this view he resolved to erect a magnificent church and convent at Hackington, without the walls of Canterbury, to dedicate it to St. Thomas Becket, and to surround it with secular canons. For this purpose he not only obtained the king's consent, but he also procured a bull from the pope, Urban III. authorising his intended erection, and granting him a fourth of all the oblations at the tomb of St. Thomas Becket to assist him in building the church¹⁶³. On this the work was immediately begun, and carried on with great rapidity; which the monks of Canterbury were very much alarmed. For they not only grudged that share of the oblations granted by the pope, but beg

¹⁶¹ Hoveden. Annal. p. 359. Diceto, col. 626.

¹⁶² Hoveden, p. 359.

¹⁶³ Diceto, col. 631.

to suspect that the archbishop intended to remove the seat of his see, and perhaps the precious remains of their favourite saint, to his new church and convent. Excited by these suspicions, they filled the whole kingdom with their clamours, as if the church, and even the Christian religion, had been in danger. They complained to the king; but met with no redress. They then appealed to the pope, and notified their appeal to the archbishop, December 20th, A. D. 1186, in hopes that he would have desisted from his works. But he was so far from doing this, that he suspended the prior and monks, who had notified the appeal. The king made several attempts to persuade the monks to refer their disputes with the primate to him, or to the bishops of the province. But all these attempts were fruitless, and they prosecuted their appeal with so much vigour, that they obtained a bull from the same pope Urban, commanding the archbishop to restore the prior and monks, and to stop his works, which was intimated to him, March 25th, A. D. 1187. This bull was disregarded by Baldwin, who proceeded with greater haste than ever to finish his buildings, having sent Peter of Blois, and some other learned men, to Rome to vindicate his conduct. As a perfect concord at this time subsisted between the king and the archbishop, the latter was supported in this contest by all the power of the crown; and Ralph de Glanville, chief justiciary, issued two writs, one commanding the prior and monks to desist

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defist from prosecuting their appeal to the pope, and the other citing them to appear before himself at London. Encouraged by this powerful patronage, the primate seized all the possessions of the prior and monks; who sent a deputation of their number to complain to the king, in Normandy, of this violence; and also made another application to the pope. Urban, greatly enraged at the contempt with which his former mandate had been treated, sent a thundering bull to Baldwin (dated October 12th, A. D. 1187), commanding him to demolish all his buildings at Hackington, to defecrate the ground on which they had been erected, and restore all their possessions to the monks. He sent at the same time a most insolent epistle to the king, commanding him to oblige the archbishop to submit to the above bull. When these letters were delivered to the king and primate, their countenances fell (says the monkish historian), and they began to speak to the monks in a kind and soothing strain. But this dejection was not of long continuance. For in a few days the news arrived, that Urban was dead, and that cardinal Albert, a particular friend of the archbishop, was chosen pope, and had assumed the name of Gregory III. On this the primate resumed courage; and resolving to bring the refractory monks to submission, he shut them up prisoners in their convent, and excommunicated the sub-prior, and some others. When they were in this confinement, the king and the primate sent several agents to prevail upon

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the prior of Canterbury
at the papal court
prevailed upon pope Clement
of Ostia his legate
England to see his
extent. But when

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preparing for their journey, they were both seized with, and died of the plague, which then raged with great violence at Rome. A second legate was appointed, who died on his journey at Pavia, in December A. D. 1188. The partisans of the archbishop were much elated by these events, giving out, that heaven had espoused his cause, and that he had wrought several miracles. But the irresistible power of the pope at length prevailed, and the archbishop, after a brave struggle of more than three years, was obliged to demolish all the buildings he had erected at Hackington; and the pertinacious monks, fighting under the papal banner, obtained a complete victory over their sovereign and their primate ¹⁶⁴.

Ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

THE history of the church of Scotland in the reigns of Malcolm the Maiden, and William the Lion, who were contemporaries with Henry II. is so imperfectly preserved, that it doth not merit very much attention. Robert bishop of St. Andrew's died A. D. 1159, and was succeeded by Arnold abbot of Kelso; who survived only one year and ten months. Richard, one of the king's chaplains, was chosen to succeed him. But Roger, archbishop of York, claiming a right to perform the ceremony of his consecration, he was not consecrated till about two years after, by the bishops of Scotland ¹⁶⁵. The archbishop complained of this to the court of Rome,

¹⁶⁴ Gervas, col. 1488—1550.

¹⁶⁵ Spottiswoode, p. 36.
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and was appointed the pope's legate in Scotland; against which the Scotch clergy made very strong remonstrances, and at length obtained a bull from Alexander III. A. D. 1165, divesting the primate of York of his legantine authority¹⁶⁶.

The independency of the church of Scotland, as well as of the kingdom, was endangered by the unfortunate captivity of William the Lion. In the treaty of peace indeed, A. D. 1174, on which that prince obtained his liberty, it was only stipulated, "That the church of Scotland should yield that subjection to the church of England that it had been accustomed to yield in the reigns of former kings"¹⁶⁷. But though by this article of the treaty, the controversy between the churches of England and Scotland seemed to be left upon its former footing; yet king William was prevailed upon, by means now unknown, to write a letter to the pope, A. D. 1175, acknowledging, that the church of Scotland had in former times been subject to the archbishops of York, and that the church of York had been deprived of the exercise of its authority by force; and praying his holiness to restore that church to the possession of its rights. In consequence of this letter the pope issued a bull, subjecting the church of Scotland to the primacy of the archbishops of York¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁶ Spottiswoode, p. 36. Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 461.

¹⁶⁷ Diceto, col. 584. Brompt. col. 1104.

¹⁶⁸ Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 481, 482.

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The clergy of Scotland refuse to acknowledge the primacy of York.

The clergy of Scotland did not tamely acquiesce in this decision. For at a great council held at Northampton, A. D. 1176, by cardinal Huguzon, the pope's legate, where the kings of England and Scotland, and the chief nobility and clergy of both kingdoms, were present; when the Scotch prelates were required to make their submission to the archbishop of York as their primate, agreeable to the article of the late treaty, to which they had sworn, they denied that the clergy of Scotland had ever been accustomed to pay such submission to that see; and affirmed, that they were not obliged to pay it¹⁶⁹. One Gilbert, a young canon of Glasgow, is said to have gained great honour on this occasion, by his bold and eloquent defence of the immunities of the church of Scotland; for which he was soon after made bishop of Caithness and chancellor of the kingdom¹⁷⁰. Roger archbishop of York supported his pretensions with much spirit, and no small evidence; but by the influence of his great adversary Richard archbishop of Canterbury, the Scotch prelates were allowed to depart without making any submission¹⁷¹.

Council of Edinburgh.

The clergy of Scotland, in order to guard against the encroachments of their neighbour of York, solicited the pope to send a legate into their country to determine this controversy. In compliance with this application, his holiness

¹⁶⁹ Hoveden, Annal. p. 315.

¹⁷⁰ Fordun, p. 714. Boeth. l. 12. p. 272. Lestæus, l. 6.

¹⁷¹ Hoveden, Annal. p. 315.

dispatched cardinal Vivian, with a legantine commission over Scotland, Ireland, and Norway¹⁷². When the legate arrived in Scotland, he held a council of the prelates and clergy of that kingdom in the castle of Edinburgh, then called the *Castle of Maidens*, August 1st, 1177. The canons of this council are not preserved, though we are told in general, that it revived some old and made some new constitutions¹⁷³. Christian bishop of Whithorn was suspended from the exercise of the episcopal office by this council, for refusing to come to it, and pretending that he was a suffragan of the archbishop of York¹⁷⁴. Immediately after the dismissal of the council of Edinburgh, Vivian was recalled by the pope, on many complaints of his avarice and extortions from the clergy, in the several countries of his legation¹⁷⁵.

Richard bishop of St. Andrew's having died A. D. 1178, a violent dispute arose about the choice of his successor, which continued several years. The monks made a hasty election, and chose John Scot, an Englishman, their archdeacon, to be their bishop. The king (William the Lion), much offended at their presumption, swore by the arm of St. James, that Scot should never enjoy that bishopric, and commanded them to proceed to a new election, recommending Hugo, one of his chaplains, and

¹⁷² Brompt. col. 1110.¹⁷³ Concil. Wilkin, t. i. p. 486.¹⁷⁴ Brompton, col. 1111.¹⁷⁵ Id. ibid. Chron. de Mailros, p. 173.

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Cent. XII.

sending Joceline bishop of Glasgow to superintend their conduct. In obedience to the royal mandate, a second election was made, in presence of bishop Joceline, and Hugo was chosen. John Scot, not willing to relinquish his right, appealed to the pope; who confirmed his election, and sent Alexius, subdeacon of Rome, as his legate into Scotland, A. D. 1180, to see him consecrated. Alexius met with much opposition in the execution of his commission; for which he excommunicated some clergymen of the royal party, and laid the whole bishopric of St. Andrew's under an interdict. This legate held a council of the bishops, abbots, and clergy of Scotland, 18th June A. D. 1180, in the church of the Holy Cross, near the castle of Maidens, or Edinburgh, at which John Scot was consecrated bishop of St. Andrew's, by Matthew bishop of Aberdeen, his uncle, with great pomp, and Hugo his competitor was deposed¹⁷⁶. But it was not in the power of the papal legate to give the revenues of the see of St. Andrew's to the new bishop; who, finding himself with only the name, without the power or possessions of a bishop, and exposed to the indignation of the king and his courtiers, left the country, and returned to Rome to renew his complaints; which were favourably heard¹⁷⁷. For Alexander III. irritated at the opposition that had been given to his legate, excommunicated Hugo for

¹⁷⁶ Hoveden. Annal. p. 341.¹⁷⁷ Chron. Mailros, p. 174, 175.
refusing

refusing to resign his pretensions, and to surrender the pastoral staff and ring¹⁷⁸. The pope also appointed Roger archbishop of York and Hugo bishop of Durham his legates in Scotland, with authority to excommunicate the king of Scotland, and to lay his whole kingdom under an interdict, if he refused to admit John Scot to the peaceable enjoyment of his bishopric. He also wrote to the king, acquainting him with the authority he had given to his legates, and threatening to confirm their sentences of excommunication and interdict, if he did not receive bishop Scot into his favour, within twenty days after he received that letter. William was so far from complying with these papal dictates, that he banished bishop Scot, Matthew bishop of Aberdeen, who had consecrated him, and all the clergy who acknowledged him for their bishop, together with all their friends and relations: on which the legates pronounced the dreaded sentences of excommunication and interdict¹⁷⁹. When William king of Scotland was in Normandy, A. D. 1181, he sent ambassadors to Rome with the following proposals for an accommodation,—That the bishop of Aberdeen should be restored to all his possessions; and that bishop Scot should be allowed to return to Scotland, to enjoy the preferments he had before his election, with a pension of forty marks a-year, and should have the first bishopric that became vacant. But

¹⁷⁸ Hoveden. Annal. p. 342.¹⁷⁹ Id. ibid.

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these proposals were rejected by the pope¹⁸⁰. However, Alexander III. the great friend and patron of bishop Scot, having died September 20th, A. D. 1181, and Roger archbishop of York, his other chief protector, having also died November 21st, the king was encouraged to renew his negotiations for an accommodation with the church, and sent Joceline bishop of Glasgow, with the abbots of Melros and Kelso, his ambassadors to Rome for that purpose. These ambassadors met with a very favourable reception from the new pope, Lucius III. and were so successful in their negotiations, that they procured a bull, dated March 18th, A. D. 1182, removing the interdict, and absolving the king and all his subjects who had been excommunicated¹⁸¹. As a further proof of his regard, the pope sent a rose of gold, with his benediction, to the king; and appointed Rolland bishop of Dol, and Silvanus abbot of Recval, his legates, to determine the controversy between the two pretenders to the see of St. Andrews¹⁸². The king, by these legates, offered to bishop Scot the bishopric of Dunkeld, the chancellorship of the kingdom, and a pension of forty marks, if he would resign his pretensions to the see of St. Andrews. Bishop Scot agreed to accept of these terms, on condition that his rival Hugo also resigned his pretensions. But the king being

¹⁸⁰ Hoveden. Annal. p. 350.¹⁸¹ Id. ibid.¹⁸² Chron. de Mailros, p. 175. Hoveden. Annal. p. 352.

either

either unable or unwilling to persuade Hugo to make that resignation, the legates summoned both the pretenders to appear before the pope¹²³. They accordingly appeared before his holiness at Viletrie, A. D. 1183, and were both commanded to resign the bishopric of St. Andrews into the pope's hands; with which they complied. A few days after, the pope, in a full consistory of all the cardinals, restored and confirmed the bishopric of St. Andrews to Hugo, and granted the bishopric of Dunkeld, with every thing the king of Scotland had promised, to bishop Scot. Both prelates returned soon after to Scotland, and took possession of their respective sees¹²⁴. But this violent and dangerous controversy, which seemed now to be finally terminated, was renewed not long after, and took a different turn. For bishop Scot being much dissatisfied with the decision of pope Lucius, and hoping for more favour from his successor Urban III. complained, that some of his goods had not been restored to him, according to agreement, and therefore renewed his claim to the bishopric of St. Andrews. Urban received this complaint and claim; and summoned bishop Hugo to appear before him, to defend his title to the disputed bishopric; and gave a commission to Joceline bishop of Glasgow, with the abbots of Melrofs, Newbottle, and Dunfermline, first to suspend him if he did not obey the papal summons, and if, after that, he

¹²³ Hoveden. Annal. p. 353.¹²⁴ Id. p. 358.

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continued refractory, to pronounce the more formidable sentence of excommunication. In consequence of this commission, and of Hugo's disobedience, these legates pronounced first a sentence of suspension against him, and afterwards a sentence of excommunication¹⁸⁵. Pope Clement III. by a bull, dated at Pisa, January 16th, A. D. 1188, declared the see of St. Andrews vacant, and directed the above legates to command the chapter to proceed to the election of a bishop, and to use all their influence to make their choice to fall on bishop Scot. At the same time he wrote—to the clergy of St. Andrews, to receive Scot as their bishop,—to the king of Scotland, no longer to oppose that prelate,—to the king of England, to persuade William by arguments, or to compel him by force, to admit Scot to the peaceable possession of the see of St. Andrews¹⁸⁶. But all these bulls were ineffectual: for bishop Scot finding that the aversion of the king was invincible, and that he could not enjoy the bishopric to which he had so long aspired in peace, made a second resignation of it; and Hugo going to Rome, was absolved from the sentences of excommunication and suspension, and restored to the long-litigated bishopric. But he did not long survive this favourable turn in his affairs; for being seized by the plague, which then raged at Rome, he died in the month of August A. D. 1188¹⁸⁷.

¹⁸⁵ Hoveden. Annal. p. 361.¹⁸⁶ Id. p. 368, 369.¹⁸⁷ Id. p. 370.

Thus ended this long and violent contest between the courts of Rome and Scotland, in which William the Lion acted with great spirit and firmness. But his success seems to have been partly owing to the seasonable death of that haughty inflexible pontiff, Alexander III. and to the character of John Scot, who had neither the courage, abilities, nor obstinacy of a Becket. Roger, a near relation of the king, and son of Robert earl of Leicester, was elected bishop of St. Andrews, April 13th, A. D. 1189. John Scot bishop of Dunkeld was present at, and consenting to, his election¹⁸⁸.

SECTION IV.

The ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, from the accession of Richard I. A. D. 1189, to the death of king John A. D. 1216.

AS the ecclesiastical transactions in England, in the reign of Richard I. were not of great importance, they do not merit a minute detail. Though the heart of this prince was wholly set on his expedition into the Holy Land, and his thoughts much employed in making preparations for it; yet he bestowed some attention, in the beginning of his reign, on the affairs of the church, that he might leave it in a state of tran-

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¹⁸⁸ Hoveden. Annal. p. 370. Chron. Mailrofs, p. 178.

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quillity. With this view he held a great council of his prelates and clergy at the abbey of Pipewell in Northamptonshire, in September A. D. 1189, in which he filled up all the vacant sees, by nominating Geoffrey de Lucy to that of Winchester, Richard archdeacon of Ely to Lincoln, William Longchamp, his chancellor, and great favourite, to Ely, Hubert Fitz-Walter dean of York to Salisbury, and his own natural brother Geoffrey to York. On this last nomination, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury stood up in the council, and claimed the sole right of consecrating the elect of York, producing a charter of William the Conqueror, in support of that claim. No decision seems to have been given by the council on this claim, and Baldwin appealed to the pope¹.

Dispute
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bishop and
the monks
of Canter-
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In the month of November this year, John cardinal of Anagnia, the pope's legate, landed at Dover, with a commission to terminate the dispute between archbishop Baldwin and the monks of his cathedral, about the buildings at Hackington. But the king, desirous of terminating this troublesome and violent contest by his own authority, sent a message to the legate, to remain at Dover till he received further orders. In the mean time, Richard, with his mother queen Eleanor, and a great number of bishops, abbots, and priors, arrived at Canterbury, and with much difficulty made a compromise between

¹ Hoveden Annal. p. 376.

the

the contending parties, which was put in writing, and signed by the king, queen, bishops, and abbots. This accommodation was much in favour of the monks; for by it the prior of Christ's Church, who had been appointed by the archbishop, was to be turned out, and all the magnificent buildings at Hackington to be pulled down².

After the departure of Richard on his expedition into the Holy Land, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, who was at once chief justiciary, chancellor, and papal legate, reigned for some time in England, with more than regal power, and lived in more than royal pomp. This haughty prelate, by virtue of his legatine commission, held two councils in the course of this year, one at Gloucester, and the other at Westminster, chiefly with an intention to make an ostentatious display of his own greatness; for no business of importance was done at either of these councils³.

Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, seized with the epidemic frenzy of the times, had taken upon him the cross, at a council held at Gaitington, February 15th, A.D. 1188; and having spent about three years in preaching up the croisade, and preparing for his expedition, he embarked at Dover March 25th, A.D. 1191, abandoning both the honours and duties of his

² Hoveden. Annal. p. 377.

³ Wilkin. Concil. l. 1. p. 493.

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important station *. After suffering many hardships in his voyage, he arrived in the Christian army at the siege of Ptolemais, where he died, November 20th, the same year †.

1192.
Disputes
about the
election of
an arch-
bishop.
Reginald
bishop of
Bath is
elected,
and dies.

The report of archbishop Baldwin's death reaching England in the beginning of March A.D. 1192, the dispute between the monks of Canterbury and the bishops of the province, about the right of election, which had so often disturbed the tranquillity of the church of England, was again revived. The bishop of London, to prevent the monks from proceeding to an immediate election, went in haste to Canterbury, accompanied by an officer of the exchequer, and commanded them to take no step towards supplying the vacancy in the archiepiscopal chair, without the consent of the king and of the bishops of the province; on which the monks protested for the security of their right of election, and of all their other rights ‡. William Longchamp, who was both chief justiciary and the papal legate, presented a letter, May 25th, from the king to the convent, giving a high character of William archbishop of Mountreale, in Sicily, and commanding them to receive him as their archbishop. To this demand the monks gave the following answer, in a great council at Northampton in June—"That they had no certain evidence of
" the death of archbishop Baldwin, who they

* Gervas Chron. col. 1522. 1564.

† Id. col. 1566.

‡ Id. col. 1567. Diceto, col. 666.

" hoped

“ hoped was still alive; and therefore they
“ craved a delay, till that fact was ascertained.”
This was at last granted, after very warm debates⁷.
In this interval the monks turned out such of their
number as they suspected of unsteadiness, parti-
cularly their prior, Osbern, and placed Geoffrey,
the sub-prior, in his room⁸. The commotions
that arose about this time, occasioned by the im-
prisonment of Geoffrey archbishop of York, in
the castle of Dover, by order of William Long-
champ, prevented any farther proceedings in the
affair of Canterbury, till after the public tran-
quillity was in some degree restored by the flight
of Longchamp out of the kingdom⁹. On this
event prince John, and Walter archbishop of
Rouen, who had then the chief direction of affairs,
held a council at London about the end of Octo-
ber; in which the monks of Canterbury, being
required to give their consent to the election of
the archbishop of Mountreale, returned this artful
answer,—“ That they could not in conscience
“ give their consent at present to the election of
“ the person proposed, until they were better
“ acquainted with his character, and until they
“ had asked council of the Lord, and felt the
“ divine direction upon their minds.” The
archbishop of Rouen, who secretly aspired to the
primacy of England, was well pleased with this
answer, granted a month’s delay, and piously
exhorted the monks to pray heartily during all

⁷ Gervas, col. 1159. ⁸ Id, col. 1160. ⁹ See chap. 1. p. 202.

that

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that time for the direction of Heaven¹⁰. Another council was accordingly called at Canterbury, November 28th, for the election of an archbishop. The monks having formed their plan beforehand, as soon as the council met, Geoffrey their prior stood up, and declared, in their name, that they chose, by the direction of the Holy Trinity, Reginald bishop of Bath to be their archbishop; and at the same time took that bishop by the hand, conducted him into the cathedral, and placed him in the archiepiscopal throne. On this (says the contemporary historian) the archbishop of Rouen turned pale, and fell a-trembling, seeing all his hopes blasted¹¹. But Reginald did not long enjoy his new and unexpected dignity: for he fell sick soon after his election, and died December 26th, A. D. 1192.

1193.
Hubert
bishop of
Salisbury
chosen pri-
mate.

The news of king Richard's captivity reaching England in the beginning of this year, threw the whole kingdom into so much confusion, that no steps were taken for some time for supplying this new vacancy in the see of Canterbury. But the king himself, being sensible that an able and zealous friend in that important station might contribute not a little to raise his ransom and procure his liberty, wrote a letter from his prison to his mother queen Eleanor and his ministers, earnestly intreating them to procure the advancement of Hubert Fitz-Walter bishop of Salisbury (who had been with him in the Holy Land, and

¹⁰ Gervas, col. 1578.

¹¹ Id col. 1580.

was lately returned into England) to the primacy. These ministers managed this matter with so much dexterity, that Hubert was unanimously elected archbishop by the monks of Canterbury, May 29th, A. D. 1193, and as unanimously approved by the bishops of the province the day after¹².

The long and violent contests of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, with his brother king Richard,—with the archbishop of Canterbury,—and with the clergy of his own cathedral, seem to have been the effects of clerical pride and passion; and though they occasioned much dissension and confusion in those times, they are hardly worthy of a place in history¹³. It may only be proper to observe, that the archbishop of Canterbury, having obtained a legantine commission from the pope, dated March 18th, A. D. 1195, made a progress into the north, and held a synod of the clergy of the province of York in the cathedral of that city, in which he made several canons, and established his own authority, which was the chief object of his journey¹⁴. Soon after this the enemies of the archbishop of York became so numerous and powerful, that they prevailed against him at the court of Rome; and he was suspended from his offices and benefices by pope Celestine. The pretence for this severe censure was, that he

¹² Gervas, col. 1583.

¹³ Hoveden. Annal. p. 417. Gervasi Chron. col. 1584.

¹⁴ Hoveden. Annal. 430.

Cent. XII. neglected the duties of his sacred function, and spent his time in hunting and hawking; but the real reason of it seems to have been, that he was an enemy to vexatious appeals to Rome, and endeavoured to prevent them¹⁵.

1196.
Disputes
between
the arch-
bishop and
the monks
of Canter-
bury about
a new
erection of
a church
at Lam-
beth.

Both the king and the bishops of the province of Canterbury had long been very much offended at the monks of that cathedral, for the exclusive right that they claimed, and the great influence that they had obtained, in the election of the archbishops. To diminish that influence, the late archbishop had attempted to establish a society of secular canons at Hackington near Canterbury; and though he had been shamefully baffled in that attempt, his successor, the present archbishop Hubert, formed the design of establishing a similar society at Lambeth, near London, hoping that the distance of the place from Canterbury would prevent any opposition. But in this he was mistaken. Nothing could escape the vigilance of the suspicious monks, who immediately took the alarm, and commenced a most violent opposition. Both the king and the archbishop took all possible pains to allay their fears, and gain their consent. In order to this they proposed,—that every canon of Lambeth, before his admission into his office, should go down to Canterbury, and take a solemn oath at the high altar of the cathedral;—that he would never claim a vote in the election of an arch-

¹⁵ Hoveden. Annal. p. 433.

bishop,

bishop,—that he would never consent to the removing of the see of Canterbury, or the reliques of St. Thomas, from that city ;—and, in a word, that he would never do any thing to the prejudice of the ancient rights of the church of Canterbury. But nothing would satisfy the monks, who instantly sent two of their number to Rome; where they met with a most favourable reception, and soon returned with a bull from pope Innocent III. dated April 25th, A. D. 1197, directed to the archbishop at Canterbury, and commanding that prelate, in the most imperious strain, to demolish all the buildings he had erected at Lambeth, within thirty days, under the penalty of being suspended from his office: “ For it is not fit (says this insolent pontiff in his bull) that any man should have any authority, who doth not revere and obey the apostolic see¹⁶.” The archbishop was greatly shocked and perplexed when he received this bull, and employed every method he could invent to gain the consent of the monks to a short delay of its execution. The king was still more enraged at the conduct of the monks, in applying to Rome without his knowledge; and in a letter he threatened them with his highest indignation, and the confiscation of all their possessions, if they insisted on the execution of the papal bull. But the monks were quite inflexible; and knowing themselves to be secure under the protection of the Roman pontiff,

¹⁶ Gervas Chron. col. 1602, &c.

they

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they despised all the threats of their sovereign and the persuasions of their primate. On this all their possessions and treasures were seized by the king's officers. The archbishop immediately dispatched agents to Rome, furnished with large sums of money, and charged with letters in his favour from all his suffragans. These agents were admitted to an audience of the pope and cardinals, October 24th, A. D. 1197; presented the letters of the archbishop and of his suffragans; and pleaded their cause with great ability: and, the day after, the monks of Canterbury made their reply. The cause being thus heard, the pope confirmed his former sentence against the archbishop; which he intimated to him by a bull, dated November 20th, threatening him with the highest censures of the church, if he did not immediately demolish the works at Lambeth. At the same time he directed another bull to the king, commanding him in a magisterial tone to see the sentence of the apostolic see executed; and telling him, that if he presumed to oppose its execution, he would soon convince him, by the severity of his punishment, how hard it was to kick against the pricks. The pope sent also another bull to the king, written, if possible, in a still higher strain, commanding him immediately to restore all their possessions to the monks of Canterbury: "for he would not endure the least contempt of himself, or of God, whose place he held on earth; but would punish, without delay, and without respect of persons, every

“ every one who presumed to disobey his commands, in order to convince the whole world, that he was determined to act in a royal manner¹⁷.” To such an intolerable height of impiety and arrogance had this audacious priest arrived! When these bulls were delivered to the king and the archbishop, they were terrified (says a contemporary historian) at the thunders of the church; and being convinced of the danger and vanity of resistance, they determined to obey¹⁸. Thus did the pertinacious monks obtain a complete victory over their king and primate, and had the satisfaction of seeing the obnoxious buildings at Lambeth pulled down to the very foundation in the months of January and February A.D. 1199, a little before the death of king Richard.

If pope Innocent III. acted in a manner so imperious towards the lion-hearted Richard, we need not be surprised to find him domineering with still greater insolence over his indolent pusillanimous successor, king John. Of his intention to do this, he gave an early indication, by bestowing in the very beginning of this reign, the revenues of the vacant see of St. David's, which unquestionably belonged to the king, on the famous Girald Bary (commonly called *Giraldus Cambrensis*¹⁹). This wanton invasion of the rights of the crown was the more provoking,

¹⁷ Gervas Chron. col. 1616—1624.

¹⁸ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁹ Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 512.

that

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that Girald, on whom these revenues were bestowed, was one of the king's most open and inveterate enemies, to which the pope was no stranger.

The pope imposes a tax on all the clergy of the church, for a croifade.

Notwithstanding all the calamities that the Christian world in general, and the king and kingdom of England in particular, had suffered by the late unfortunate expedition into the Holy Land, pope Innocent was not ashamed to set another croifade on foot, and that in a manner suited to his imperious character and high pretensions. He issued a bull, dated December 27th, A. D. 1199, directed to all the prelates of the Christian church, commanding them, and all their clergy, by the authority of the apostolic see,—of almighty God,—and of the Holy Ghost, and under the penalty of eternal damnation, to pay the fortieth part of all their revenues, for defraying the expence of this expedition, which was to be commanded by two cardinals named by the pope. The bull contains many directions about the manner of levying this tax upon the clergy, and of collecting the voluntary contributions of the laity, which are all expressed in the language of supreme authority²⁰. This was the first attempt to impose a tax on the clergy of all nations, by the authority of the pope, as sovereign of the church; which ought to have excited universal indignation. But those dark unhappy times were the proper season for such daring usurpations on

²⁰ Hoveden, Annal. p. 455.

the

the rights of mankind. It was probably to carry this bull into execution, that Hubert archbishop of Canterbury held a council of the clergy at Westminster, A.D. 1200, in spite of the prohibition of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex, and high justiciary of England²¹. This much we know however with certainty, that this papal tax was collected in England, and the money arising from it was carried to Rome by Philip, a notary of that church. "But (says a contemporary historian) it will never be applied to the purpose for which it was raised, unless the Romans have changed their nature, and relinquished their innate rapacity²²." King John was so far from resenting this intolerable insult upon the rights of his crown and independency of his kingdom, by a foreign power imposing a tax on his subjects without his consent, that he voluntarily granted the fortieth part of his own revenues to the pope, and exhorted his barons to imitate his example²³: a demonstration that this weak prince did not understand the prerogatives of his crown, or that he had not the wisdom and fortitude to defend them.

At the same time that the pope imposed this tax on the clergy for defraying the expence of his intended croisade, he sent his emissaries into all countries, and particularly into England, to exhort the laity to take the cross. The most

²¹ Hoveden. Annal. p. 457. ²² Diceto, apud X Script. col. 707.

²³ Hoveden. Annal. p. 471.

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remarkable of these emissaries was Eustachius abbot of Flay in Normandy, who pretended to work many miracles, and to have received a letter from heaven, written by the hand of God, in which he threatened to rain sticks and stones, and boiling water, on all who frequented fairs and markets on Sunday²⁴. The declamations of this enthusiast produced great effects. The Sundays fairs and markets were for some time deserted, and multitudes of all ranks crowded to take the cross, which he warmly recommended. When these deluded people had leisure to reflect on what they had done, they repented of their rashness, and would gladly have declined embarking in so distant and dangerous an expedition. But they soon found that there was no trifling with the court of Rome. For the pope no sooner heard of this backwardness, than he issued a thundering bull, dated May 5th, A. D. 1201, directed to the archbishops and bishops of England, commanding them to excommunicate by name, and with all possible solemnity, every person who had taken the cross, and refused or delayed to fulfil his engagements²⁵. This obliged all who had been so imprudent as to take the cross, to go upon this croisade, or to purchase a dispensation, which was not easily obtained. It may not be improper to take notice, that the great army that was raised on this occasion by the authority of the pope, and conducted

²⁴ Hoveden. Annal p. 457.²⁵ Id. p. 465.

by his counsels, was not employed in rescuing the Holy Land from the hands of infidels, but in dethroning the Christian emperor of Constantinople in order to subject that empire to the see of Rome²⁶.

Few events were more to be dreaded by the king of England in this period, than a vacancy in the see of Canterbury, which was commonly productive of a violent contest at home, and no less violent conflict with the court of Rome. But no vacancy in that see had ever been attended with such fatal consequences as that which happened at this time, on the death of archbishop Hubert, July 18th, A. D. 1205²⁷. These consequences were indeed so singular and important that they merit a very distinct consideration.

The monks of the cathedral of Canterbury had long claimed an exclusive right to elect their archbishops; but this right had always been disputed by the kings of England and the prelates of the province. On this occasion the monks determined to exclude their competitors from any share in the election, by making a secret and sudden choice, before the vacancy could be generally known. As soon therefore as they heard of the death of Hubert, they held a chapter in the night-time, and chose their own sub-prior Reginald to be archbishop, and placed him in

²⁶ Bzovii Continuat. Baron. Annal. ann. 1202, 1203, 1204. Goldast. Constit. Imper. t. 3. p. 369.

²⁷ Gervas, col. 1683.

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the archiepiscopal throne. At the same time they obliged Reginald to take an oath, that he would not publish his election without the consent of the convent, and sent him away next morning, with some of their own number, to Rome, to obtain the approbation of the pope. This scheme was well contrived; and would probably have been crowned with success, if the vanity of Reginald had not got the better of his prudence, and even of the obligation of his oath. For he no sooner arrived in Flanders, than he assumed the state of the archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and shewed the letters of his election to several persons. The news of this soon reached England, and occasioned no little noise. The monks were so much offended at the misconduct of their elect, that they determined to abandon him, in order to make their peace with the king, whose indignation they justly dreaded. They accordingly sent some of their number to the king, to ask his leave to proceed to the election of an archbishop, and to obtain it they secretly agreed to chuse John de Gray bishop of Norwich. As soon as these agents returned to Canterbury with the king's licence, a chapter was held, and John de Gray was unanimously chosen archbishop; and, on his arrival, was solemnly enthroned in the presence of the king, who immediately put him in possession of the temporalities of the see. That nothing might be wanting to render this election valid, some of the monks

monks were dispatched to Rome to procure the approbation of the pope²⁸.

But this affair, which was already sufficient embarrassed by a double election, became no more perplexed by the appearance of a third part. The bishops of the province, who had always claimed a share in the election of their metropolitan, had been quite neglected in the late elections. They therefore sent their agents to Rome to complain of this neglect, and to protest against both elections, as invalid on that account. Nothing could be more agreeable to the court at Rome, than the appearance of so many parties and so many clashing claims. Great sums of money were expended, and a whole year was employed in pleadings, audiences, hearing witnesses, and examining records. At length, when one part of this great controversy was ripe for decision, the pope issued a bull, dated December 21st, A. D. 1206, declaring, that from thenceforward the suffragans of the province of Canterbury should not pretend to any share in the election of their metropolitan, nor disturb the monks of the cathedral in the enjoyment of the exclusive right to choose their archbishop²⁹.

The pope, after having thus determined the dispute between the bishops and the monks, proceeded to examine the great controversy between the two archbishops-elect. The agents of both parties supported their respective claims with

²⁸ M. Paris, p. 148, 149.

²⁹ Id. p. 149, 150.

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1207.
Stephen
Langton
chosen
archbishop
at Rome
by a few
monks.

The archbishopric being thus declared vacant, the pope began to unfold his scheme, which it is probable he had formed long before, of filling it with a creature of his own, without so much as consulting the king of England. In order to this, he commanded the monks of Canterbury, who were then at Rome, immediately to proceed to the election of an archbishop, and at the same time commanded them to chuse cardinal Stephen Langton. The monks objected, that they could not do this without the consent of their convent; but the pope hastily replied, that his authority supplied all defects. The monks, fourteen in number, who had been agents for the bishop of Norwich, laboured under another and still greater difficulty. Before they left England, they had solemnly sworn to the king (who dreaded that they might be corrupted at the court of

³⁰ M. Paris, p. 155.

Rome),

Rome), that they would never acknowledge an person but the bishop of Norwich for archbishop of Canterbury. But the plenitude of papal power soon removed this obstacle. His holiness absolved them from the obligation of their oaths, and commanded them immediately to proceed to an election, under the penalty of the highest censures of the church. With this they all complied, except Elias de Brentfield. Stephen Langton was chosen archbishop of Canterbury by a few monks at Rome, and consecrated by the pope himself at Viterbo, June 27th, A. D. 1207²¹.

Innocent was not ignorant that this unprecedented transaction would rouse the indignation of the king of England, and therefore he endeavoured beforehand to sooth the mind of that prince. With this view he sent him four rings of gold, set with four different kinds of precious stones, accompanied with a flattering letter, which contained an illustration of the mysteries represented by these rings. King John, who was equally fond of trinkets and of flattery, expressed much satisfaction with this papal present. But this satisfaction was of short duration. For a few days after the bull arrived, intimating the election and consecration of cardinal Langton; which threw him into a most violent rage, both against the pope and the monks of Canterbury. As these last were most within his reach, they felt the first effects of his indignation. Two

²¹ M. Paris, p. 155.

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officers, Fulk de Cantalou and Henry de Cornhille, with a company of armed men, were sent to Canterbury, who took possession of the convent of the Holy Trinity, banished the monks out of the kingdom, and seized all their estates. King John then wrote a spirited and angry letter to the pope, in which he accused him of injustice and presumption, in raising a stranger to the highest dignity in his kingdom, without his knowledge. He reproached the pope and court of Rome with ingratitude, in not remembering that they derived more riches from England than from all the kingdoms on this side the Alps. He assured him, that he was determined to sacrifice his life in defence of the rights of his crown; and that if his holiness did not immediately repair the injury he had done him, he would break off all communication with Rome³². Though this letter was written in a strain very becoming a king of England, it was very shocking to the pride of the haughty pontiff, who had been long accustomed to trample on the majesty of kings. Innocent immediately returned a long answer; in which, after many expressions of displeasure and resentment, he tells the king plainly, that if he persisted in this dispute, he would plunge himself into inextricable difficulties, and would at length be crushed by him, before whom every knee must bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth³³.

³² M. Paris, p. 156.³³ Id. p. 157.

These

These two letters might be considered as a formal declaration of war between the pope and the king of England. But the contest was very unequal. For the former had now attained that extravagant height of power which made the greatest monarchs tremble upon their thrones, and the latter had sunk very low both in his reputation and authority, having before this time lost his foreign dominions by his indolence, and the esteem and affection of his subjects at home by his crimes and follies. Innocent was not ignorant of the advantage he possessed; and therefore, without delay, he laid all the dominions of king John under an interdict; and this sentence was published in England, at the pope's command, March 23d, A. D. 1208, by the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, though the king endeavoured to deter them from it by the most dreadful threats. From that time the churches were shut up, and the clergy refrained from performing any of the duties of their function, except hearing confessions, baptizing infants, and administering the viaticum. The king was so much enraged against the clergy for obeying the interdict, that he commanded his sheriffs to seize all their lands and revenues in their several counties, and withdrew from them the protection of the laws, by which they were exposed to injuries of all kinds. To avoid these injuries some fled into foreign parts, others confined themselves within the precincts of their churches,

and

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³² M. Paris, p. 136.³³ Id. p. 157.

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1208.

The pope
lays Eng-
land under
an inter-
dict.

and

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and the whole kingdom was a scene of confusion and dismay ³⁴.

1209.

The pope
excommu-
nicates
king John.

When this interdict had continued about two years, the pope proceeded a step further, and pronounced the dreaded sentence of excommunication against king John, which he commanded the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, his most obsequious tools, to publish in England. These prelates, who resided on the continent, sent copies of the sentence, and of the pope's commands, to publish it in their churches, to the bishops and clergy who remained in England. But such was their dread of the royal indignation, that none of them had the courage to execute these commands. The sentence however did not remain a secret; but became the subject of conversation in all companies. Even Geoffrey archdeacon of Norwich, one of the king's judges, when sitting on the bench in the exchequer at Westminster, declared to the other judges, that the king was excommunicated, and that he did not think it lawful for him to act any longer in his name. But for this declaration he was thrown into prison, where he soon after died ³⁵.

1217.

The Eng-
lish laity
adhere to
king John.

In the mean time the pope was much enraged at the loyalty of the English laity to their prince; and, in order to shake it, he sent them several letters full of threats and promises ³⁶. But these

³⁴ M. Paris, p. 158. Hen. Knyghton, apud X Script. col. 2415.

³⁵ M. Paris, p. 159. ³⁶ Innocen. Epist. lib. 10. Ep. 159, 160.

letters

letters produced little or no effect ; for the great barons and their followers adhered with so much steadiness to the king, that while he lay under the sentence of excommunication, he executed the only two successful expeditions of his reign, the one into Wales, and the other into Ireland ³⁷. This gives us reason to believe, that if John had continued to act with firmness, and had secured the affections of his own subjects, by a just and mild administration, he would have triumphed over all the arts of Rome, and delivered himself and his country from their ignominious subjection to a foreign priest.

In the course of this year some secret overtures had been made for an accommodation of this famous controversy ; and in consequence of these overtures, the pope sent two legates, Pandulph and Durand, into England. These legates were admitted to an audience in a parliament held at Northampton ; when a most violent altercation ensued between them and the king. In this altercation Pandulph was not afraid to tell the king, in the face of his parliament, that he was bound to obey the pope in temporals as well as in spirituals : and when John refused to submit to the will of his holiness without reserve, the audacious legate published the sentence of excommunication against him with a loud voice, absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, degraded him from his royal dignity, and

³⁷ M. Paris, p. 160.

declared

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declared that neither he nor any of his posterity should ever reign in England³⁸. This was certainly carrying clerical insolence to the most extravagant height. But in those unhappy times the meanest agents of the pope insulted the greatest princes with impunity.

1212.

The pope deposes king John, and excommunicates all who adhered to him.

After the return of the legates to Rome, and their report of the obstinacy of the king of England, the pope proceeded to more violent measures. He pronounced, with great solemnity, a sentence of deposition against king John, and of excommunication against all who should obey him, or have any connections with him³⁹. When these sentences were known in England, they began to excite the superstitious fears of too many of the barons; who were, at the same time, much dissatisfied with their prince, for his imprudent, illegal, and oppressive government. Of this secret disaffection of his barons, John received intimations from the king of Scotland, from his own natural daughter the princess of Wales, and from other quarters, which alarmed him not a little, and began to stagger his resolution⁴⁰. About the same time one Peter the Hermit, a mad enthusiast, went up and down preaching with great vehemence against John for his disobedience to the pope, and prophesying that he would not be king of England on next

³⁸ Annal. Monast. Burton, apud Rerum Anglican. Script. t. i. p. 165, 166.

³⁹ M. Paris, p. 161.

⁴⁰ Id. ibid.

Ascension day: "and his declarations (says a contemporary historian) were as firmly believed by all who heard him, as if it had been a voice from heaven"⁴¹."

The pope, in order to render his sentence of deposition against king John effectual, appointed the king of France to put it in execution, and promised him the pardon of all his sins, and the kingdom of England for his reward. This was a temptation which that prince had neither wisdom nor virtue to resist. Blinded by his ambition, he became the tool of the court of Rome, in destroying the common rights of princes, which he ought to have supported with all his power. Philip, now become the champion of the church, raised a mighty army, and collected a great fleet, in order to invade England, and take possession of that kingdom in consequence of the papal grant; not reflecting that he thereby acknowledged the right of the pope to dispose of crowns and kingdoms at his pleasure⁴².

King John had good intelligence of all these transactions on the continent, and made the most vigorous preparations for his own defence. But all these preparations on both sides served only to promote the purposes of the court of Rome. For as soon as John was sufficiently intimidated by his dread of the French army, and his suspicions of his own subjects, to induce him to make an ignominious surrender of his crown

⁴¹ M. Paris, p. 161.

⁴² Id. p. 162.

and

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and kingdom to the pope, Philip was obliged to abandon his enterprize against England, to avoid the thunders of the church, the dreadful effects of which he had before his eyes.

The pope neglects the interest of his tools.

In consequence of the unlimited submission of king John to the will of the pope, Stephen Langton, whose promotion had been the cause of the late fatal contest, came over to England, took possession of his see, and soon after absolved the king from the sentence of excommunication⁴³. At the same time the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, with all the other clergy and laity who had been banished in the course of this quarrel, returned, with high expectations of receiving the most ample satisfaction for all the damages they had sustained, and of having a considerable share in the management of affairs. But these expectations were not fully answered; and they soon began to complain, that when the pope had gained his own ends, he became unmindful of the interests of his friends. Nor were these complaints without foundation. For about Michaelmas this year Nicholas bishop of Tusculum arrived in England as the pope's legate, and regulated all ecclesiastical affairs in the most arbitrary manner, without consulting with the primate or any of the clergy. The archbishop, and those who had been sufferers in the papal cause in the late quarrel, were so far from receiving that ample and immediate satisf-

⁴³ Epist. Innocent. p. 327. M. Paris, p. 166.

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faction for their damages, which had been stipulated, and they expected, that they were put off from time to time, under various pretences, with the consent of the legate. In bestowing vacant benefices, he paid no regard to the pretensions of the papal party, but preferred only his own creatures, or those recommended by the king⁴⁴.

The archbishop of Canterbury, greatly chagrined at the new councils of the court of Rome, and at the conduct of its legate, held a provincial synod of his suffragans and clergy at Dunstable, about the middle of January A. D. 1214. At this synod the most loud and vehement complaints were made against the legate, for his partiality to the king, and his discouragement of those of the clergy who had adhered to the court of Rome in the late contest. After long debates, it was agreed to send a deputation of two clergymen to the legate, who was then at Burton upon Trent, to intimate to him, that the archbishop had appealed to the pope against his proceedings, and to inhibit him from granting institution to any more prelates or priests within the province of Canterbury. To this intimation the legate paid no further regard, than by sending the famous Pandulph to Rome, to defend his conduct against any who might appear there to accuse him⁴⁵.

Though king John had been absolved from the sentence of excommunication soon after his agreement with the pope, the interdict upon the

⁴⁴ M. Paris, p. 171, 172.

⁴⁵ Id. p. 172.

kingdom

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kingdom was continued, till it should be seen how he would adhere to that agreement. But the king having now entirely gained the heart of the pope, by renewing his submission, and by sending him a great sum of money, his holiness gave a commission to his legate to remove the interdict. This was accordingly taken off, with great solemnity, in the cathedral of St. Paul's, London, June 29th, A. D. 1214, after it had continued six years three months and fourteen days⁴⁶.

The inferior clergy, who had suffered in the late troubles, obtain no redress.

The archbishop and monks of Canterbury, with the bishops of London, Hereford, Ely, Lincoln, and Bath, who had been the greatest sufferers in the late contest, obtained at different times twenty-seven thousand pounds in reparation of the damages they had sustained. But the rest of the sufferers in that cause, consisting of an innumerable multitude of abbots, priors, templars, hospitallers, abbesses, monks, nuns, secular clerks, and laymen, when they applied to the legate about the reparation of their damages, were told, that he had received no directions from the pope about that matter: and this seems to have been all the reparation they ever received⁴⁷. Simon Langton, brother to the archbishop of Canterbury, who appeared at Rome to prosecute the appeal of his brother and his clergy against the legate, had no greater success. For Pandulph, who was agent for the

⁴⁶ M. Paris, p. 173.

⁴⁷ Id. p. 174.

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legate, having painted king John in the most amiable colours, as a most pious, just, and humble prince; and represented the primate and his clergy as excessively rigid and covetous their demands of restitution, and enemies to the just prerogatives of the king, they were dismissed without any redress: a treatment which they had merited for espousing the cause of Ron against their king and country, but which they had no reason to expect from that court who the cause they had espoused.

In the famous contest that raged at this time between king John and his barons about the great charter of their liberties, the pope supported the party of his new vassal with great warmth and was not sparing of his spiritual thunder against the barons and their favourers. In particular, he was so much displeased with the political conduct of his own creature the archbishop of Canterbury, that he laid him under a sentence of suspension; and reversed the election of his brother Simon Langton, who had been chosen archbishop of York⁴⁸.

Innocent III. being now in the zenith of his power, assembled a general council in the church of St. Saviour de Lateran at Rome, in November this year, at which were present no fewer than four hundred and twelve bishops, besides an incredible number of abbots, priors, and inferior clergy. His intention in calling this council

⁴⁸ M. Paris, p. 188.

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doth not seem to have been to take the advice of its members in the affairs of the church, but to make an ostentatious display of his own greatness and supreme authority. For the seventy canons decreed in this council had been prepared before, were read in the council, and passed without any deliberation or debate; though some things in them appeared very intolerable to many of the members⁴⁹. In the confession of faith contained in the first canon, the new doctrine of transubstantiation is inserted in these strong terms: "The body and blood of Christ are contained really in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood, by the power of God." For this wonderful transubstantiation, the following curious reason is assigned:—"That we might receive of Christ's nature, what he had received of ours"⁵⁰. The third canon commands kings and princes to extirpate all heretics in their territories, under the penalty of being excommunicated, and deprived of their dominions; which gave occasion to the most horrid scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. These, and several other canons in the same collection, sufficiently shew the darkness of this period, and the great incroachments the court of Rome had made on the civil and religious rights of man-

⁴⁹ M. Paris, p. 184. Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. cent. 13. c. 6.

⁵⁰ Id. *ibid*.

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council at Perth, A. D. 1201, for making canons, and reforming the manners of the clergy. The canons of this council are all lost, except one, which commanded the Sabbath to be kept from Saturday at twelve o'clock noon, to Monday morning⁵². King William was present at this council, with all the nobility, as well as the prelates and principal clergy of his kingdom; who, at the king's desire, took an oath of fealty to his son prince Alexander (who was then only three years of age) as his successor⁵³. Several ecclesiastical controversies were also determined at this council, particularly one between the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the abbot and monks of Kelso⁵⁴.

National
council at
Perth.

Roger bishop of St. Andrews died at Cambuskenneth, A. D. 1202; and was succeeded in that see by William Malvoisin, bishop of Glasgow; who governed it no less than thirty-five years, with great wisdom and felicity. That prelate, in conjunction with Walter bishop of Glasgow, received a legantine commission from Innocent III. and in virtue of that commission, with the consent of the king, they held a national council at Perth, A. D. 1211. The design of that council was to promote a croisade for the recovery of the Holy Land; and by the exhortations of these prelates, and of the rest of the clergy, great multitudes of the common people,

⁵² Wilkin. Concil. t. i. p. 495. Boeth. Hist. Scot. l. 13. p. 277.

⁵³ Id. ibid.

⁵⁴ Wilkin. Concil. t. i. p. 509.

but

but very few of the nobility, took the cross⁵⁵. The backwardness of the Scotch nobility to embark in this croisade, was probably owing to the deplorable fate of five hundred of their countrymen, mostly noblemen and gentlemen, who accompanied king Richard in his expedition into the East, under the conduct of earl David brother to William the Lion, who all perished except their leader, who returned, after having suffered the most incredible hardships for the space of four years⁵⁶.

Brice Douglas bishop of Moray fixed the seat of his see, A.D. 1212 (which before had been unsettled), at the church of the Holy Trinity of Spyny, which he declared a cathedral, and in which he constituted a chapter, consisting of eight canons residentiary, in imitation of the chapter of Lincoln⁵⁷.

William bishop of St. Andrews, Walter bishop of Glasgow, and Brice bishop of Moray, with Henry abbot of Kelso, attended in person the general council held at Rome, in November A.D. 1215, while the rest of the Scotch prelate contented themselves with sending representatives⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 532.

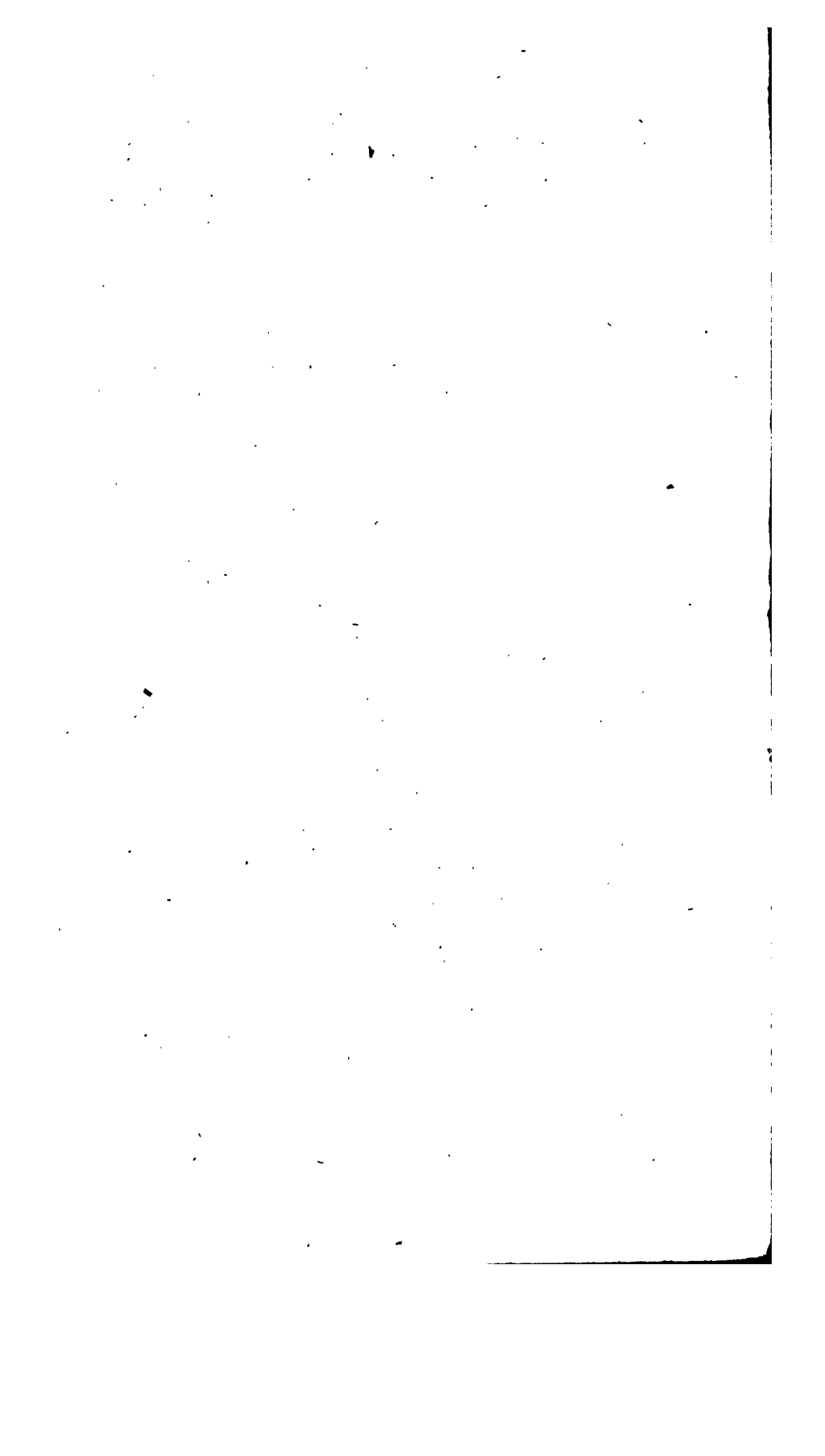
⁵⁶ Boeth. l. 15.

⁵⁷ Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 532.

⁵⁸ Chron. Mailros in ann. 121.

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